

VOL. XIII

A GUIDE TO ISMAILI LITERATURE

28151

BY

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016-29711
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

AND SOLD AT

74 GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON, W.1

1933

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
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STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LTD.,
ORIENTAL AND GENERAL PRINTERS,
1 FORE STREET, HERTFORD.

PREFACE

A FEW years ago I found in Lucknow a bundle of disjointed leaves belonging to a quite modern manuscript copy of an Arabic book, torn and worm-eaten ; as appeared at a glance, it dealt with some philosophic matters. I bought the bundle for a few annas, and took it with me, intending to examine it at leisure, but somehow forgot all about it until I recently rediscovered the bundle in my boxes. The manuscript, on examination, was found by me to be a work on Ismaili bibliography. After inquiries from my learned Ismaili friends I succeeded in ascertaining that the bundle contained an almost complete copy of the so-called *Fihristu'l-Majdū'* or, more accurately, *al-Majmū' fī Fihristi'l-kutub*, by Isma'il b. 'Abdi'r-Rasūl of Ujjain, who died in 1183 or 1184 (1769–1770). The work gives most valuable information about the literature of the Ismailis as preserved by the Dāwūdī branch of the sect ; unfortunately, however, it is not quite complete and omits some well-known works. Quite naturally, indeed, dealing with the literature recognized only by one branch, it has no mention of works belonging to other branches, such as the Sulaymānīs and Nizārīs ; in addition to this, there were a number of works which appeared after the time of composition of this *Fihrist*.

For various reasons it was difficult to plan an edition of the work : my copy was rather bad, and I could not secure a good copy for a sufficiently long time to collate it with mine all through ; I was allowed only just to have a glance at it. In addition to this, it would be very difficult to find a publisher. The text only would make about 400 pages in print. With a translation, necessary additions, and indexes, the book might run up to some 900–1000 pages. The arrangement of works in the *Fihrist* is rather chaotic and, anyhow, it would be necessary to systematize its information in a separate monograph like the present.

For all these reasons I decided merely to give here a succinct abstract of its contents, in a systematic form, supplementing its information from all available sources, written or oral, and adding all information that I could collect about any Ismaili works, belonging to any branch, in order to give as complete an idea about the Ismaili literature, in general, as is possible at the present state of research. I have done my best to make the present paper as complete as was practicable, but it is unnecessary to mention that it probably is far from being what it really should be, and is bound to contain many inaccuracies or errors, due to the flimsy nature of the information which I often had at my disposal. Though, by the kindness of some of my broad-minded Ismaili friends, I had an opportunity to examine personally a number of Ismaili MSS., their proportion to the whole literature is small. The information of the *Fihrist*, wherever I had a chance to verify it, is admirably reliable. Its great defect is only the absence of dates. But other sources which I had to use, and especially oral information, were often very unreliable.

I shall be extremely grateful therefore for all corrections and additions which those who have access to this literature can find it necessary to make. When a number of such corrections has been collected, it will be possible to publish them separately.

I had very little material for biographical notes on the authors. In some cases, however, but only in very few, such information was extremely copious, and I was told that some scholars are going to make it the subject of special monographs. Therefore, for the sake of uniformity, and in order to focus attention upon the literature itself, I have omitted the biographical element altogether, only ascertaining, as far as possible, the dates of the deaths of the authors.

About every work that I could see, or about which I could gather enough in the *Fihrist*, I have tried to give as full information as possible by reproducing the original headings of the chapters, etc. In the case of less important works, or

whenever the headings were too long, I have summarized them so far as possible in phraseology derived from themselves.

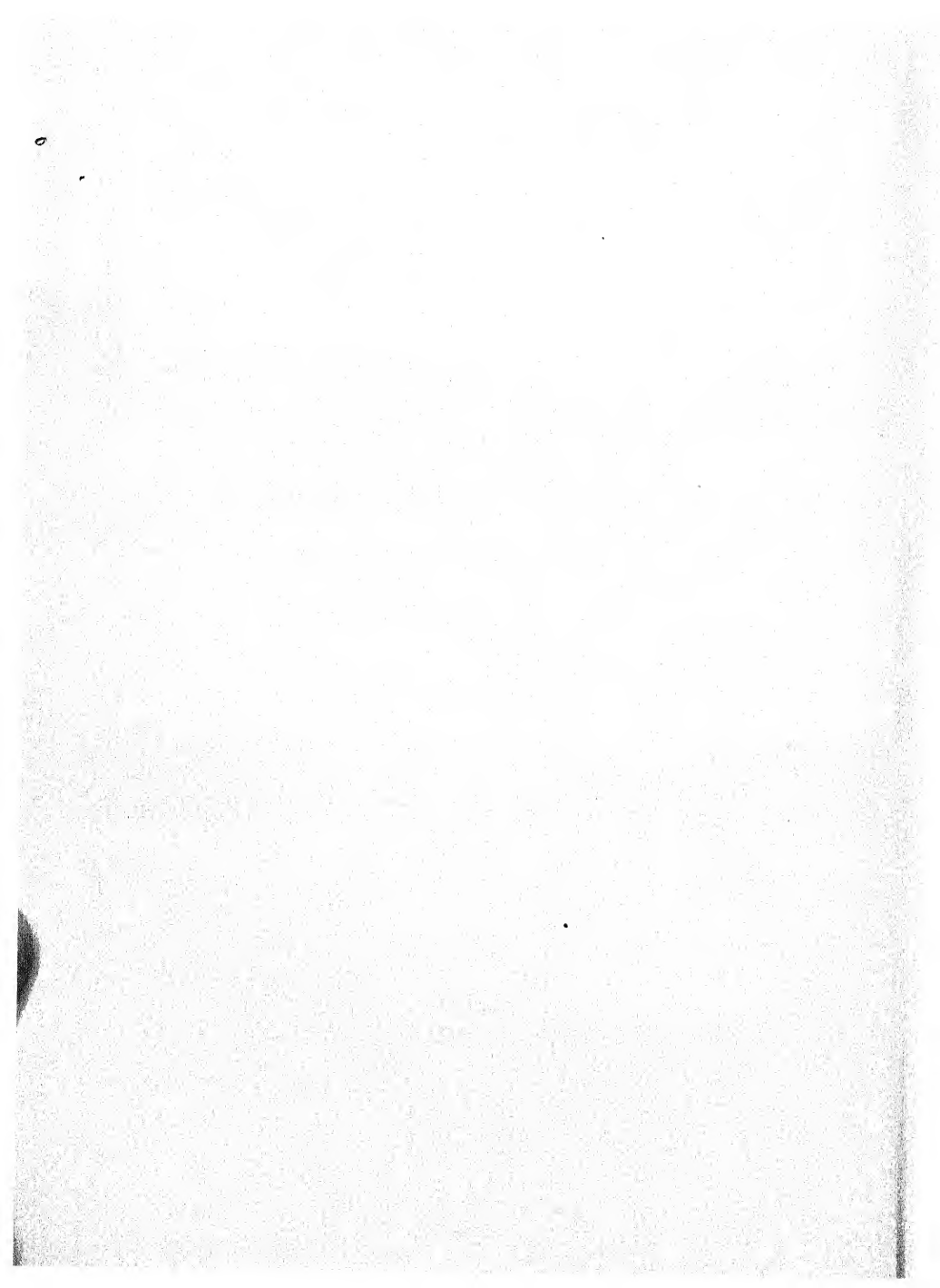
I must emphasize, in conclusion, that all the information which is collected here could be gathered and arranged only through the most generous and broad-minded support of certain enlightened and enthusiastic members of different branches of the Ismaili community in India. I am very sorry that the old prejudices about the publication of everything that is found in the religious works of the community, regardless of the question whether it is known or not to the outside world, are still quite strong amongst the great majority of the Ismailis. This circumstance does not permit me to express my feelings of profound gratitude and indebtedness to every one of them separately.

I have also to offer my sincere thanks to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for publication of this work in their Prize Publication Fund Series, and especially to Professor D. S. Margoliouth, for his great kindness in helping me with his advice and corrections of my English.

W. I.

BOMBAY.

15th January, 1932.



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TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

The system employed here is that of mechanical substitution for the letters of the Arabic alphabet, and the signs of vocalization, of their corresponding signs in the English alphabet. It is *not* intended to give the pronunciation of the names or titles of books as they are pronounced in the different parts of the Muhammadan world. Exception is only made in the case of the Arabic definitive article *al-* in the combinations with sounds causing assimilation, which though not expressed in writing, is universal and obligatory for the Arabic language as a whole. Therefore, instead for instance of 'Abd al Raḥīm, there is written here 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm.

The different ways of expressing the long *ā* in Arabic orthography, i.e. those with the help of the *alif*, *wāw*, or the *yāy*, are disregarded here.

ا a, i, u, آ ā, ب b, پ p, ت t, ث th, ج j, چ ch, ح h, خ kh, د d, ذ dh, ر r, ژ r̥, ز z, س s, ش sh, ص s̥, ض ḍ, ط t̤, ظ z̤, ع ʿ, غ gh, ف f, ق q, ك k, گ g, ل l, م m, ن n, و w, ū, ه h, ی y, ī, Hamza ʾ (the same as the apostrophe),

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- b. = *ibn*, son of.
 ca. = *circa*.
 d. = died in.
 f. = folio.
 F. = *Fihristu'l-Majdū*.
 Griffini = "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften," *ZDMG.*, 1915, pp. 63-88.
 Iv. = W. Ivanow, "The Ismaili MSS. in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences" (*in Russian*), in the *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1917, pp. 359-386.
 K., k. = *kitāb*.
 KH. = *Kashfu'l-hujub*, a bibliography of Shi'ite books, by I'jāz Ḥusayn Kantūrī, Calcutta, 1912.
 Mass. = L. Massignon, "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate," in a volume of Oriental Studies presented to Professor E. G. Browne, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 329-338.
 N. = Nizari, belonging to the Nizari school.
 P. = in Persian.
 Q. = *qaṣida*.
 Qiṣ. = *qiṣṣat*.
 R. = *Risāla*.
 S. = Sulaymani, belonging to the Sulaymani branch of Ismailis.
 Sem. = A. Semenov, "Description of the Ismaili MSS. collected by himself" (*in Russian*), in the *Bulletin of the Russ. Academy of Sciences*, 1918, pp. 2171-2202.
 U. = in Urdu.
 Z. = *Zaydi*.

INTRODUCTION

I

ONLY a few genuine Ismaili works were known till about ten years ago in different Western libraries. A bibliography of them, together with works generally on Ismailitic subjects, was sketched by Professor L. Massignon in his paper, "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate,"¹

¹ The term "Qarmate" in this paper, as the author explains in footnote 1 on p. 329, is here understood in a broad sense, in the place of the "Ismaili", because it is "de préférence à 'bāṭinī', épithète de théologie, et à 'ismaʿīlien', étiquette politique shīʿite", and is "appellation populaire, contemporaine et concrète". Without any desire to belittle the authority and the competence of the learned author, I permit myself to disagree with this, and regard this as nothing but a *pars pro toto*. We do not know what were the real relations between the doctrine of the Qarāmiṭa and that of the early Ismailism, but their continuously hostile attitude to each other, and the little that is known about their tenets, show a profound difference. Early Ismaili authors pour on the Qarāmiṭa as many curses as the Sunnis, and for them the name of this sect is as odious as it is to anybody. The term Qarāmiṭa as applied to the Ismailis of the Fatimide period is exactly of the same category as "bāṭinī" and "mulḥid", and involves, first of all, an *abusive* sense. Surely never and on no account would a Fatimide devotee call himself a Qarmaṭī. We know quite well the value of "popular and contemporary" appellations by hostile parties. Then all secret sects in Persia, for instance, should be called something like "*chirāgh-kushān*", or "*buzgāla-band*". And it is not true that the term Qarmaṭī is "contemporary" with Ismailism in general: this term appears and disappears exactly and only with the Qarmatian sect; the Arab historians, and earlier Persian authors, use the term *Bāṭiniyya*, meaning the Western Ismailis. In Persia it becomes replaced during the Alamuti period with the term "*mulḥid*", i.e. the "perverter", viz. of the (letter of the) dogma of Islam, and though there may be much of the inevitable "overlapping" of the terms, on the whole they are used by historians with remarkable accuracy. Surely the Nizaris deserve much more the name of "bāṭinī" than the Western Ismailis, and yet they are never called by this name, just as the Western Ismailis are called "*mulḥid*" only on exceptional occasions, to express special hatred. There is no doubt that the term "Qarmaṭī" becomes entirely forgotten long before the Mongol invasion, and only learned people in all Islamic communities know what it means. On the other hand, the term "Ismaili" probably had *purely* and *only* political meaning (if it ever had it at all) only at the earliest period, long before the Fatimide progress, and this was very soon replaced by its *religious* significance: Fatimides were primarily the *Imāms* for their own followers, and only then *khalifs* for the outsiders.

in the Volume dedicated to E. G. Browne, 1922, pp. 329–338. Since that time many more Ismaili works have become known, and even published, in the West. Indeed, even at the time of publication of this bibliography, many of them were known to exist, especially in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; cf. the papers (in Russian) by W. Ivanow, “The Ismaili MSS. in the As. Mus. of the Rus. Acad. of Sciences,” in the *Bulletin of the Rus. Academy*, 1917, pp. 359–386 (this paper was briefly reviewed in English by Sir E. Denison Ross, *JRAS.*, 1919, pp. 429–435); and A. Semenov, “Description of the Ismaili MSS. collected by the author himself,” in the same *Bulletin*, 1918, pp. 2171–2202. More of such genuine works were published, in the original or in translations into Gujrati or Urdu, in India; there were also some useful, though not very scholarly, works in English, containing first-hand information, especially the *Gulzare Daudi for the Bohras of India*, by Mian Bhai Mulla Abdul Husain (Ahmadabad, 1920), which was to some extent used by the compiler of the article on *Bohras* in the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The reason why these works were not included in Professor L. Massignon’s paper can easily be found in the general conditions of immediate post-War communications.

The information about the present state of Ismailism, and about its division into different branches and sub-sects, is still very unreliable and confusing as given in different books of reference. Therefore it would be useful to survey this matter briefly here. But before taking up this task, we may give here some idea of the literary activity of the Ismaili circles at present—a matter about which the students of Islam in Europe hear but rarely.

There are two Bohra periodicals, both in Gujrati. One is published by the orthodox party, supporters of the policy of the High Priest, and is called *Nasīmi Bahār*. The other is *Gulzārī Hakīmī*, and is published in Burhanpur by the party of the dissenters and opponents of the Mullaḥi Saheb. Both

have a limited circulation—only amongst the members of their own community and party. The first of them, apparently, does not accept subscriptions from outsiders. They are filled with local and internal topical matters, and continuous altercations and polemics between themselves. There is a growing tendency, which is not encouraged by the official circles, to publish historical and not very secret works in Gujrati translations, in order to make them more accessible to the community. This, however, is restricted under the pretext of possible persecution by the fanatical orthodox Muhammadans. For instance, one of the most valuable works, the *Mawsimi Bahār*, in Gujrati (in Arabic characters, and with much admixture of Arabic), was published in three volumes some thirty years ago. It gives a complete history of Ismailism, from Adam to about 1900, and scarcely contains anything that may be objected to, even by fanatics. But when it became scarce and out of print, only the first and second volumes were recently lithographed again, and the High Priest has vetoed the publication of the third volume (history of the period of *satr*).

The Hakimiyya party (progressives and opponents of the High Priest) are publishing mostly topical pamphlets, but sometimes give translations, in Gujrati, of some standard works. For instance, they are now publishing a translation of the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwānu's-ṣafā (see No. 13 in the list of the Ismaili works); *al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt*, by Qāḍi Nu'mān (see No. 100); *Tājul-'aqq'id* (No. 234), etc.

The Khojas publish in Bombay a weekly, in Gujrati, which is called *The Ismaili*; on the occasion of the birthday of the Imam, etc., they publish a large extra number, which usually contains also some articles in English, and a profusion of illustrations, some of which are very interesting. They also publish a great number of school-books, in Gujrati or Sindi, for the Khoja children, many works dealing with various events in Ismaili history, with Ismaili doctrine, ethics, prayers,

the sacred books of the *Gināns*, etc.¹ In addition to this periodical, which may be regarded as the most important, there are a few other papers, also in Gujrati: in Bombay—*Fidā'ī* (quarterly); *Yuvak Bal* (bi-weekly); *Yuvan* (monthly); *Nizārī* (or *Nijārī*), of religious character (monthly). In Dhoraji—*The Ismaili Aftāb* (bi-weekly). In Amreli—*Nūri Hidāyat* (monthly). In Bhavnagar—*Rāhi Najāt* (monthly). The latter two are published by those Khojas who adopted the Ithnā-'asharī persuasion. All these periodicals are very little known.

¹ We may give here the titles of those ancient, or more important for the student: *Sat-venī* (*mōṭī*) or "Trustful Discourses", by Sayyid Nar-Muhammad Shāh (1924); *Sat-venī* (*nāni*), by Sayyid Imām Shāh; both in one volume, together with *Sī-ḥarfī*, or thirty letters; *Mōman-chetāmāni* or "Warning to the faithful", by Sayyid Imām Shāh (1924); *Tō mūnīvar bhāi* (*mōṭī*) or "So say brothers rishis", by Pīr Ṣadru'd-dīn (1920); *Tō mūnīvar bhāi* (*nāni*), by Sayyid Imām Shāh (1930); *Kalāmi Mawlā* (1923); *Ginān sāth jūgeshar abdu-nā* or "Sixty Gināns for ascetics and hermits", by Pīr Ḥasan Kabīru'd-dīn (1922); *Būj Nīrīnjan* or "Appreciation of the Invisible", by Pīr Ṣadru'd-dīn, together with the *Brahma Prakāsh* or "Revelation of Brahma", by Pīr Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad (1921); *Khaṭ darshan* or "Six darshans", by Pīr Ṣadru'd-dīn; *Mūl Gāyentri* or "Pre-Origin", by Sayyid Imām Shāh (no date of publication); *Vāyek mōtō taṭhā vel* or "Great discourses and garland", by Pīr Shamsu'd-dīn (1917); *Khaṭ nīrīnjan* or "Six invisible beings", by Pīr Ṣadru'd-dīn (n.d.); *Basō Ginān*, by different Pīrs (1927); *Ghatpāt-nī doā*, by Pīr Ṣadru'd-dīn (1931); *Silsila-i Imāmat*, chronological table of the Imāms (1926); *Maḡṣadi ḥaqīqat*, by Hasham Bogha Master (1910); *Ālmōt-nō yōdhō* or "Hero of Alamūt" (1924); *Muslim Dharm* (on *ta'wīl*) (1923); *Khristisam* (Christianity), on the New Testament (1923); *Krishna-vāṇī*, extracts from the Gīta (1923); *Ilāhi mat* or "Divine system", on the Corān (n.d.); *Māns-ahār* or "Meat-eating", by A. M. Chunara (the editor of the "Ismaili") (1926); *Sākār* or "Manifestation of the Substance", by A. M. Chunara (1925); *Fī Imāmi'l-mubīn* (1931). There are also many other interesting publications and contributions to the "Ismaili" by A. M. Chunara and his assistant, M. Ḥusayn-Sharīf. All the works mentioned here are published both in Gujrati and in Sindhi. We may add here that the term which is written *Ginān* (with hard guttural nasal at the end) is pronounced as *Gnān* by ordinary people, while the learned pronounce it *Dnān*. It comes from the Sanscrit word *jñānam*, and means "knowledge", 'ilm. Technically this term is applied to versified treatises on religious matters; some of them may be called sacred poems, others—hymns. They were composed by different Pīrs, and at different periods. A systematic and critical study of them would be one of the most fascinating subjects of research.

There are also occasional lithographed Ismaili works in Persian or in Urdu, which are published in Bombay by people coming from various parts of Asia¹; their titles also are mentioned in the list.

The gradual progress of the Ismaili community, which in many respects is one of the most educated in India, and its acquaintance with Western education have produced a number of Ismaili students who work on modern lines. Such is, for instance, the well-known Dawudi author, Tayabali Alavi of Karachi, who writes on Ismaili history, popularizing the discoveries of Western research; his books are in Gujrati and are widely read.² The younger generation includes Professor Zāhid 'Alī of Hyderabad Dn. (orthodox Dawudi), who specializes on poetry; Asaf A. A. Fyze (Sulaymani), a barrister, who took up the most interesting question of the Ismaili legal literature; H. Hamdānī (dissenting Dawudi), who published recently some interesting papers on Ismaili subjects, etc.

II

Before taking up the question of the literature of the different branches into which the Ismaili community is divided at present, it is necessary to make clear some points about the terminology of these sub-sects. This terminology has always been extremely confused, and many students continue to write about Ismailism in general, not realizing that the tenets of some of the branches are quite different from those of others.

First of all it is necessary to come to an agreement as to how we should designate the two principal branches of the

¹ About thirty years ago there were several publishing firms in Bombay which specialized in Persian and Arabic works, and some of them, like Hājji Shaykh 'Alī Maḥallātī, published a large number of important Shi'ite works, in very good lithographs. Now the fall in Persian exchange, and the present customs policy, have completely killed this important auxiliary to Shi'ite research.

² The principal works are: *Aḥwālī Anbiyā*. Vol. i, *Anbiyānō Ittihās* (History of the Prophet), Rajkot, 1921; vol. ii, *Pruthavinō Sankshēp Ittihās* (Short History of the World—or, rather, of civilization), Rajkot, 1925.

Ismailis into which the da'wat split after the death of al-Mustanşir bi'l-lah in 487/1094, when the majority followed al-Musta'li, and the minority remained faithful to the original heir apparent, Nizār. The simplest would be to leave in force the terms which have already received quite widespread recognition, i.e. the "Western" and the "Eastern" branch. This division is based on the fact that the first, called by its members themselves *ad-da'wat al-mahdiyya al-Fāṭimiyya*, continued, uninterrupted and unreformed, the old Fatimide tradition; it was preserved, besides in Egypt, only in the Yaman, i.e. in the West of the Islamic World. The Nizari branch was particularly strong in the eastern half of it, i.e. in the Iranian countries, up to the highlands of Central Asia.¹ Only later on did both spread to India, where they continue now side by side, and whither their religious centres have been transferred. In India the Western Ismailis are called Bohras, or Bohoras,² and the Eastern, or Nizari, Khojas.³

¹ The terms used by Shahrastānī, *ad-da'watu'l-qadima* and *ad-da'watu'l-jadida*, are both introduced by himself, and surely never were in use amongst the sectarians. For them the *da'wat* to which they belonged was *ad-da'watu'l-hādiyyatu'l-mahdiyya*, and everything outside it was nonsense and heresy. Every religion, and every Islamic sect and Ismailism particularly, live in the belief that theirs is the only possible, true, final, and unchangeable religion of the world, and the idea of evolution, however obvious it may be, is abhorrent to them. We do not know anything about the process of the transition of the Ismaili community in Persia from the Fatimide orthodoxy to the reformed creed of the Imams of Alamut; but the repeated changes in the policy of the *khudāwands* themselves indicate the existence of a considerable struggle of parties.

² The term Bohra or Bohora, with different spelling, is explained in different ways, but most probably it is nothing but the Gujrati term for "merchant". Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xix, part ii (1899).

³ The term Khoja, which is regarded as identical with Persian *khwāja*, master, is often pronounced as Kōja, and in Sindh as Kaja. It is obviously similar in meaning to the Bohra, and originally was intended to mean only "merchant". It is regarded as a reliable tradition that Pīr Ṣadrū'd-dīn, converting the Lohanas of Sindh, "has given them the name Khoja." Most probably the term *khwāja* was originally applied to merchants from the Persian Gulf, who visited the ports of Sindh, and when the local Lohanas became converted to Muhammadanism the title was also applied to them. In Gujrat, and partly in Kathiawar, the followers of Imām Shāh (who are not followers of H.H. the Agha Khan) are called *Mumnās*, i.e. *Mu'mins*,

The almost official term of the Arab historians, *bāṭinī*, used by them to denote an adept of the Fatimide *da'wat*, is never used by the members of the community as implying some derogatory sense. They call themselves *mu'min*, *muslim*, solemnly *ahlu'l-ḥaqq*, or *ahlu't-tawḥīd*, etc. Officially, to distinguish themselves from other sects of Islam, they call themselves *Isma'īlī*. Their religion they call *ad-Da'watul-hādīyatul-mahdiyya*. The majority of them live in Western India; there are many of them in East Africa (emigrants from India). A number are still to be found in the Yaman, and small groups of them are found in almost all the great commercial centres of Asia.

The followers of the Eastern branch also call themselves *mu'min*, *muslim*, *ahli tarattub*, *ahli waḥdat*, etc., and officially—*Isma'īlī*, adding only *Nizārī*, in order to distinguish themselves from the followers of the unreformed Fatimide *da'wat*. The ancient term *Sab'iyya*,¹ though correct, is never used, and its

the faithful. But there are some Mumnās who are ordinary Khojas with regard to their tenets; besides there are also Shi'ite Mumnās and Sunnite Mumnās, just as there are Shi'ite Khojas, i.e. Ithnā-āsharis converted from this class. In the Indian atmosphere of strong caste ties the brand of it remains on the member even when he has no longer anything to do with what originally constituted it, including the basis, i.e. the religion. Formerly it was very strict, and a Mochi Mumnā, for instance, which means a shoemaker belonging to the sect of Imām Shāh, in case he became a Khoja, i.e. a follower of H.H. the Agha Khan, and entirely changed his profession, would himself and his children, nevertheless, always remain Mochi Mumnā Khoja. Nowadays, with the advance of Westernization, slackening of the caste sense, and the greater measure of connection with the Islamic world instead of Hinduism, these conditions change, and the deadly and stifling grasp of this objectionable institution, the caste system, is losing its evil efficacy.

¹ The term *Sab'iyya*, implying the belief in seven Imams, as against the twelve Imams of the Ithnā-āsharis, is frequently used by Islamic students, but appears to be, in reality, extremely obscure. The Western Ismailis know twenty-one Imams *plus* a secret number of the concealed Imams. The Eastern Ismailis regard their present Imam as the forty-eighth. Moreover, both equally believe in the absolute indispensability of the Imam to the existence of the world. There must always be an Imam, in ordinary human flesh, and in appearance as an ordinary mortal, and, therefore, the limitation to the number of seven is absurd, and entirely contradictory to the most fundamental dogma of the religion. But it is obvious, at the same time, that

original implications are quite unintelligible to all except the learned. The Nizaris are still living in Syria, side by side with the Nusayris and Druzes; they are called there simply Isma'iliyya. In Persia they are known under the name of *murīdāni Āghā Khān*; their largest number is to be found in Khorasan,¹ and a smaller number in the province of Kerman.

such term really existed, because not only is it frequently used by outsiders who wrote about the Ismaili doctrine, especially at an early period, but there are also traces of it in the Ismaili literature itself. For instance, Nāṣiri Khusraw repeatedly speaks about "seven Imams" in the *Wajhi dīn*. Which seven Imams? In the early doctrine, which he followed himself, 'Alī is not regarded as an ordinary Imām, he is the Waṣī, or Asāsu'l-Imāmat (most probably this theory depends on the far greater importance attributed to the Prophet by the early Ismailis, than to the Imam; Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, but not Muḥammad b. Ḥanafiyya, are regarded as first Imams, because they are blood relations and direct descendants of Muḥammad through Fāṭima), and therefore as a great saint, 'Alī was in a class by himself. The Nizari, or reformed school of Ismailism, laid particular stress on the Imam, and the uninterrupted and direct line of succession. 'Alī became the first Imam, and, in connection with a more consistent philosophical view, the Substance of Imamat was regarded as one and the same: there were no greater and no smaller Imams, all are perfectly equal. Thus in the first version the Imamat begins with Ḥasan, and in the other with 'Alī, but Ḥasan is omitted, as a temporary (*mustawḍa'*) Imam. Thus if the Imamat is supposed to have ended with the premature death of Isma'il, there are only six Imams, but if we count 'Alī, Ḥasan, and the last Imam before the beginning of the first period of *satr*, i.e. Muḥammad b. Isma'il—there are eight of them. How could Nāṣiri Khusraw write about seven Imams, when al-Mustansir, whose *dā'i* he was, was regarded by his followers as the 18th Imam? But it is really strange that such a dogma apparently existed in the earliest form of Ismailism, and the sectarians, with their usual extreme conservatism, tried to circumvent it with new constructions rather than to cancel it. Thus Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijistānī, in his work *al-Ifṭikhār* (see No. 26), states that as there are seven *dawrs* of the Nātiqs thus the number of the Imams should consist of periods of seven, and the seventh of them always is the greatest (*ya'lū 'alā aḥwālī'l-a'immati's-sitta*). Thus the Qā'im is to be, when he comes, the seventh in his group. The Ismailis at present even have special names for each group of seven of their Imams. The first seven are called *Atimma'*, the second *Khulafā'*, and the last group, ending with at-Tayyib, is called *Ashhād*. The Imams who are concealed are called *Abdāl*, and their real number is unknown, *mastūr* (the term *abdāl* has a great variety of meanings in Sufism and generally in occultistic matters). The Ismailis themselves never apply the term *Sab'iyya* to themselves, and it is quite unintelligible to the ordinary member of the community.

¹ In my early paper, "Ismailitica II," *Memoirs of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. viii (1922), pp. 50-3, I have given some information concerning the

In Afghanistan, chiefly in the Pasha'i-speaking districts north from Kabul, they are known under the name of 'Alī-Ilahīs.¹ In the Central Asian highlands they are called Mullas or Mullā'īs.² In India they are generally known as Khojas, though they have different subdivisions: Shamsīs or Multānīs in the Punjab, the followers of Pīr Shamsu'd-dīn; Satpanthīs, the most numerous, the followers of Imām-Shāh, whose shrine is in Pīrāna, in Ahmadabad; Nūr-Shāhīs, the followers of Pīr Sat Gur Nūr, whose shrine is at Naosari; Nijārīs (i.e. Nizārīs); Guptīs, etc.³ Many of them still preserve

distribution of the Ismaili population in Persia. My information was very incomplete at that time owing to the great uncommunicativeness of my Ismaili friends. Now I have succeeded in getting more reliable information from various Persians whom I have met since 1920. Besides the districts of Nishapur there are many Ismaili villages in the districts of Sari Jām, Jām, Qā'in, Neh, and Birjand; some of them I visited personally on many occasions without knowing that the inhabitants are Ismailis, for instance Shāzila, Gurāng, Dastgird, Zirk, etc. It is quite probable that only some of the inhabitants are Ismailis, and they have to live in strict concealment in fear of their neighbours.

¹ They are living near Laghman and in adjacent valleys, and have nothing to do with Ali-Ilahis of Persia and Kurdistan, who most probably are spiritual descendants of the Qarmatians. About the Ali-Ilahis of Persia and their distribution, see V. Minorsky, "Notes sur la Secte des Ahlē-Haqq," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1920-1, based on the author's earlier work in Russian on the same subject, published in Moscow, 1911. The account is very incomplete, and the author completely misunderstood the character of the original text translated by him, seeing in it the "history" of the sect, while it is simply a collection of legends giving the origin of different "*khidmats*", or religious customs, and thus reducing it to a kind of incoherent fairy tale, while leaving without any explanation the rites, which are the real subject of the compiler of the original book.

² They inhabit Badakhshan, Rushan, Shughnan, Wakhan, and, to a smaller extent, other districts in the Upper Oxus area. On the Chinese territory there are many Ismailis in Sarikol and adjacent villages. In Yarkand the local Ismailis are emigrants from Wakhan, who fled from persecutions some fifty or more years ago. In Chitral they form a substantial proportion of the population; in Kanjut, or Hunza, and Naqir they form a majority. Everywhere the language of their religious books is Persian, of which, however, many of them know very little. Knowledge of Arabic is extremely rare.

³ Cf. the *Bombay Gazetteer*, xix, part ii. The difficulty about this classification is the great variation in the local designation of the sectarians, who often are known under different names in different localities.

much of their early Hinduistic customs and beliefs, and constitute transition sects between Muhammadanism and Hinduism. All the Nizārīs, in India, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Persia, Syria, and in East Africa (emigrants from India), recognize as their spiritual head and the 48th Imām in the line of descent from 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, His Highness Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, who is better known under the honorary title of his ancestors as Agha Khan.

The Western Ismailis are divided at present into two principal and a number of smaller and almost insignificant sub-sects. The great majority, something like 95 or even 98 per cent, are the so-called Dāwūdīs. They are the followers of the line of the *dā'īs* who are the successors of Dāwūd b. Quṭb-Shāh (the 27th *dā'ī*, 999-1021/1591-1612). Their opponents are the Sulaymānīs, the followers of the successors of Sulaymān b. Ḥasan (who was recognized by a party of the Ismailis as the right *dā'ī* in 997/1589). The dissension was entirely about the person of the successor to the 26th *dā'ī* and there is almost perfect agreement between both communities in their tenets. The Sulaymānīs in India are very few, something like 500 persons in all. In the Yaman they are more numerous than the Dāwūdīs, but probably do not exceed a few thousands.

The spiritual head of the Dāwūdīs, the *Dā'ī'l-Muṭlaq*, His Holiness the High Priest of the Bohoras, Abū Muḥammad Tāhīr Sayfu'd-dīn,¹ usually lives in Bombay, or in Surat. The Sulaymānī *Dā'ī'l-muṭlaq*, 'Alī b. Muḥsin, lives in the Yaman, and has his lieutenants in India.

The minor sub-sects are numerically insignificant; some of

¹ It is remarkable that the Ismailis, in their later period, consistently use this order in the arrangement of the names. They always write, for instance, Idrīs 'Imādu'd-dīn, instead of the usual all-Muhammadan 'Imādu'd-dīn Idrīs. Another peculiar habit in modern names is the omission of the word *b. (ibn)*. Thus 'Alī-Bhāi Badru'd-dīn does not mean Badru'd-dīn 'Alī-Bhāi, but 'Alī-Bhāi *son of* Badru'd-dīn. All this is probably due to Indian influence. The Yamanite Sulaymanis have not got this custom. Besides, they do not favour honorary titles; for instance, their present *dā'ī* is simply called 'Alī b. Muḥsin.

them are either entirely extinct, or comprise only a few scores of followers. Such are the 'Aliyās,¹ the followers of 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm (who seceded in 1624); the Nāgūshiyās in Baroda, who are strict vegetarians, and descendants of Brahman converts (since 1789); Hibatīyās, or Hiptiyās in Ujjain (now almost entirely extinct), the followers of Hibatu'l-lah b. Isma'il b. 'Abdī'r-Rasūl, who was the son of the author of the *Fikristu'l-Majdū'*, and flourished in the last years of the twelfth/eighteenth century; and Mahdī-bāgh-wallās in Nagpur, followers of 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn b. Jīwānjī (since 1897).² The cause of the dissensions of all these sects was almost invariably a dispute over the succession of the *dā'īs*. The splits in all cases were engineered by parties in the priestly group, struggling for authority and control over the *baytu'l-māl*, or the religious money and property. A similar struggle is continuously going on at present in the form of incessant litigation with and excommunication of opponents; it led recently to the application, by the order of the Government of India, of the Waqf Act (about the control over religious property) to the Bohras, who had till then been exempted from it. But all this does not prevent even the most obstinate opponents of the Mullaji Saheb, the *Dā'ī'l-Muṭlaq*, from remaining in many cases most pious and zealous Ismailis.

All these Ismaili sub-sects, both the Musta'lian and Nizari, are living in strict isolation one from the other, and from other Islamic groups, and mixing only in business with them. They never intermarry with them, and even in social life they meet rather rarely. The learned Bohras live in an isolated world of ideas of their ancient literature. Not only are the impious Western theories not accepted by them, but they often are quite ignorant even about the most outstanding works of

¹ The final -ā in all these names is Indian, just as in *mumnā*, which means *mu'min*.

² Cf. *Gulzare Daudi*, pp. 45-53; *Burhanpur Durgah Case Judgment* (delivered by G. S. Kher, i.e. Suit No. 32 of 1925, *Tayabali Mahomedali v. Mulla Abdulhusein and others*; Court of 1st Class Sub-judge, Burhanpur, C.P., Bombay, 1931), pp. 37-8.

the general Islamic literature. The advance of Western education usually does not change their inner world substantially. The old ideas continue to live side by side with the outlook of the more or less European-minded business man, whilst such co-existence deprives each component part of its highest ideals.

III

Only the Western Ismailis have preserved a considerable number of works belonging to their religious literature; a great proportion of these, however, is lost.¹ The reason of such comparatively good state of preservation, as compared with the conditions in other Islamic secret sects, is the comparative safety which the Ismailis enjoyed in the Yaman, to which the centre of the *da'wat* was transferred from Egypt, as late as the concluding years of the Fatimides. The books were removed thither, and continued to be copied in the religious centres where the *dā'īs* were surrounded by the most cultured and learned members of their community. Still later on the religious books in many cases were also gradually brought to India, where, in the bewildering mixture of all possible castes and creeds, they were not so conspicuous as in purely Muhammadan lands, and therefore could enjoy more safety.² Hence they could preserve a fairly high proportion of their works, which they always kept in good care and in profound secrecy from outsiders.

The different branches of the Nizaris had a long career of cruel persecutions; after the fall of the strongholds of Alamut, in 656/1258, and the destruction of their centres in Quhistan

¹ Even of the works by Qāḍi Nu'mān, which are more esteemed and revered than those by any other author, about half the number is lost. This happened within the last 500 years, as they are mentioned in the '*Uyūnu'l-akhbār*', the famous history by Sayyid-nā Idrīs (cf. No. 258), in the sixth volume. We can only guess how many of his works were lost before that time, and how many works were lost generally.

² There was, however, no scarcity of persecutions, and on the 27th Jum. ii, 1056/10-viii-1646, for instance, the 32nd *dā'ī*, Quṭbu'd-dīn b. Dāwūd was executed in Ahmadabad.

(Southern Khorasan), their literary tradition was almost broken in Persia. The growing relapse into illiteracy and poverty on the part of the Persian Ismailis never permitted them to develop again a literature on a large scale, and either to reach the level or to appreciate the most difficult early philosophic works of the Fatimide period, which were written in Arabic, and therefore scarcely accessible to an ordinary devotee. The majority of the Persian Ismaili works are preserved in another isolated corner of the Islamic world, which, like the Yaman, was situated far apart from the main historical routes of civilization, i.e. Badakhshan and the adjacent Central Asian provinces.

Ismailism as expressed in the literature, which is regarded as sacred by the Badakhshani (in a broad sense) followers of the religion, who regard themselves as Nizaris, is a very complicated mixture of several different strata in the evolution of the system. The oldest, most probably, is the period to which belongs the most sacred and secret amongst their books, the *Ummu'l-kitāb*, ascribed to the tradition coming from Imām Muḥammad Bāqir.¹ We should scarcely err in regarding it as a relic either of the Qarmatian or of the Khaṭṭābiyya literature,² probably much modified under local influences.

The next stratum in the Badakhshani Ismailism is represented by the works of the *Pīr*, or *Sayyid*³ Nāṣiri Khusraw, the famous poet and philosopher, and of his associates and

¹ Cf. further on, the note II on his works, in the list.

² Cf. Mass. 330; Friedländer, "Heterodoxies . . . of Shi'ites" in the *JAOS.*, 1908, pp. 90, 96, etc.

³ It is generally known that Nāṣiri Khusraw was not a Sayyid, and only later authorities call him 'Alawī, while the Ismailis of Central Asia invariably call him Sayyid. It is quite possible that this is merely a trace of the honorary title Sayyid-nā which all eminent Ismailis, such as *dā'īs*, have usually before their names. We may add here that the highest honorary title is Mawlānā, which is used only with the names of the Imāms (though in modern times rarely applied to deceased *dā'īs* by their enthusiastic disciples). The title just below Sayyid-nā is Sayyid-ī, and the Mūllā (or Mūlī ?) is still lower. The ordinary learned Ismaili is called *shaykh*, and the near relatives of the *dā'ī* are called *Bhāi Sāhib*, which is prefixed to all other titles.

imitators. He was, as may be seen from the more or less authentic works which are ascribed to him, such as the *Wajhi dīn* and the *Zādu'l-musāfir*, a very orthodox follower of the Fatimide doctrine. His works are in full agreement with the Fatimide literature of that time, and come very near to the style of Abū Ya'qūb Sijzī (or as-Sijistānī), executed in 331/942, probably together with Abū 'Abdi'l-lah an-Nakhshabī, during the suppression of the Ismailis under Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Samanide, in that year.¹ In fact, Nāṣiri Khusraw directly refers to him and his works in the *Zādu'l-musāfir*.² Though it is generally believed that he was a partisan of Nizār, there are apparently no explicit indications to this effect. When and how the orthodox followers of Nāṣiri Khusraw in Badakhshan joined the Nizaris of Alamut, we do not know. The next stratum belongs exactly to this period, and is followed, as in Persian Ismailism generally, by what may be called the period of the coalescence of the Ismaili and the Sufic ideas, which lasted for a very long time. And the latest phase is formed by growing influences of the Indian, or Khoja ideas, brought from the present centre of Ismailism in Bombay, whither the pious adepts go on pilgrimage.

The literature of this, Indian, branch is still almost unknown,³ though it is a fascinating subject for a student of the history of religion and of civilization, as one of the most remarkable and ingenious attempts to bridge the abyss lying between the world of the Mediterranean civilization, to which

¹ Cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* (Gibb Mem. Series, v), 1928, pp. 243-4.

² The Berlin edition, pp. 421-2. One of the MSS. which was at the disposal of the editor gives the correct reading Sigzī (or Sagzī), but he preferred the wrong one, S-k-r-y. Cf. A. Semenov in his "Contradictions dans les avis sur la metempsychose dans les oeuvres de Nassir-i-Khosrau et chez les Ismailiens de Pamir" (in Russian) (*Bulletin de l'Université de l'Asie Centrale*), Tashkent, 1925, p. 111; he reads the name as Sakarī (why?), and wonders that he cannot trace the person alluded to anywhere.

³ All that is usually repeated by authors writing on the subject is the superficial and often not quite accurate information in the Khoja case judgment at the Bombay High Court in 1866.

Islam belongs, and the backward world of Hinduism. This literature, which is not very extensive, requires a sound knowledge of Sanscrit, and especially of the modern Indian dialects, such as the Sindhi, Kachhi, and Gujrati, in which the sacred *Gināns* are written. An examination of this literature would carry us very far away from the purely Islamic atmosphere of general Ismailitic literature, and, therefore, we may postpone this for a special work.

Returning to the Ismaili literature from its earliest periods, as it is represented in the collections of the Bohras, we find that they divide it into several sections: the works belonging to the period of the *zuhūr*, i.e. up to the disappearance of their 21st Imām, aṭ-Ṭayyib, in 526/1132, and the books of the period of the *saṭr*, from that date till now. The latter period is divided into three: the Yamanite period, till about the end of the sixteenth century, and the Indian, with the last fifty years or so being regarded as "modern" time. The terms "Yamanite" and "Indian" refer to the place of the residence of their *dā'īs*, or the lieutenants of the Imam. The present *dā'ī* is the 51st in succession.

We may better divide the Ismaili literature into periods as follows: practically nothing is known about the Ismaili literature from the beginning of the movement till the rise of the Fatimides in Northern Africa. The works ascribed to different Imams, or saints, are obviously spurious and apocryphal. The early Qarmatian works (cf. their summary in L. Massignon's paper) have nothing to do with Ismailism proper.¹ The earliest authors apparently belong to the period immediately preceding the Fatimide movement.

¹ It is necessary to realize that the Ismaili tradition and literature have not preserved any memory of 'Abdu'l-lah b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh, Dindān al-Ahwāzī, Aḥmad b. Kayyāl, 'Abdān, etc., who, even if they were Ismailis, did not belong to the main, so to say, orthodox line of the sect. In the atmosphere of the extraordinary religious conservatism which Ismailism presents, such oblivion of the founder of the religion, in case 'Abdu'l-lah b. Maymūn really was the originator, seems quite improbable. And yet I was assured by many learned Ismailis that neither any of his works nor

The next period coincides with the Fatimide rule in Northern Africa and Egypt. It rapidly attained great brilliancy, and developed the doctrine so much that after this it probably was never altered to any considerable extent. It is remarkable that almost all the great authors and philosophers of that time were Persians: Rāzī, Kirmānī, Nishāpūrī, Shīrāzī, etc. The two eminent Arab authors, Qāḍī Nu'mān and Ja'far b. Manṣūrī'l-Yaman, in the spirit of their works exercise something of the influence of the "brake" on the development of the ideas.

The post-Fatimide period, i.e. the period of *satr*, first continues the earlier tradition. But very soon, with probably the next generation, the character of the literature changes, and the chief feature of it becomes the tendency to epitomize the earlier knowledge. Its culmination is reached in Sayyid-nā Idrīs (the 19th *dā'ir*, who died the 19th Dhī Qa'da, 872/10-vi-1468), whose famous works are an excellent summary of the earlier literature. The next period begins with stagnation, and then shows more and more the signs of degeneration and decay. Though there are works of value composed at that period, they are mostly of the same epitomizing character. Attention is chiefly directed to the incessant quarrels between the different parties in the priestly circles, as we have already mentioned, which from time to time produced more or less serious splits in the community. There are many works which are devoted to the affirmation (*ithbāt*) of the *naṣṣ*, or the rightful succession, of Sayyid-nā so-and-so, and the refutation (*radd*) of the heresy of the cursed *māriq* so-and-so; while the other party, writing exactly on the same subject, and exactly in the same tone, would only change the terms, and put the word *māriq* where

any tradition about his participation in the building up of the dogma is preserved. We may therefore regard it as very probable that the usual story of the connection of this early saint with Ismailism, and his being its founder, is due to the same psychology which tried to identify the Fatimides with the Qarmatians, who were hateful to all owing to their depredations and acts of sacrilege.

there is *Sayyid-nā* in the works of their opponents, and vice versa. Or another fascinating subject which absorbed the attention of many authors is hair-splitting about the date of the beginning of the month of Ramaḍān. For a philosophic religion like Ismailism, with its *ta'wīl*, etc., this is a poor end, after one thousand years of history! Mystic tendencies are growing, and there is recrudescence of the most primitive mediaeval superstition. The latest phase of the evolution brings us to a still greater degree of the decay, i.e. the disappearance of Arabic studies, and the loss of the ancestral culture. This is manifested in the struggle for the right of publication of translations of the ancient Arabic works, which are no longer read so widely as they used to be.

We thus see that in spite of the great isolation in which the sect always lived, and the Chinese wall which separates it from the main road of the evolution of the general Islamic civilization, there is a complete parallel between both, and even complete coincidence in the chronology of separate periods. The Fatimide period exactly coincides with the great foundation work of the Islamic philosophy and science, and after the period of stagnation which preceded and followed the Mongol invasion, in the ninth/fifteenth century, there was the age of such great epitomizers as as-Suyūṭī; after this followed the decadence, which now brought about the complete abolition of Arabic as the medium of the international learned intercourse of the Islamic world, replacing it with the parochial tongues of various communities, inflamed with their rabid local nationalisms.

With regard to the Nizari branch, the Ismaili literature produced before the split, i.e. before the death of al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lah in 487/1094, is, theoretically at least, acceptable to them also—historically, and in so far as it deals with the philosophical side of the religion and does not come into a conflict with the reformed ideas about the theory of the Imamāt and of the abolition of the *ẓāhir*. Anyhow, no study of the Eastern Ismaili doctrine is possible without a good

knowledge of its roots, which are represented by this earlier phase of development. Otherwise all speculations would be perfectly baseless.

Most unfortunately we know nothing about the nature and the extent of the reforms introduced by Ḥasan b. Šabbāḥ and, later on, by Imām Ḥasan 'alā *dhikri-hi's-salām* (or as the Nizaris, probably wrongly, themselves read it, Ḥasan-'Alī, *dhikru-hu's-salām*, or simply 'Alī *dhikru-hu's-salām*), whose declaration of the Qiyāmatu'l-qiyāmāt on the 17th Ramaḍān, 559/8-viii-1164 is well known. Shahrastānī's mention of the works of Ḥasan b. Šabbāḥ is very vague; and though there is known amongst the Ismailis of Badakhshan such a work as the *Haft-bābi Bābā Sayyid-nā*, copies of it are unknown, and, from the replies of the Ismailis who professed to have read it, the impression may be formed that it is not genuine. Ṭūsī's work, analysed by me (*JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 527-564), is rather vague on this point. With regard to its philosophy it agrees fairly well with the earlier tradition, though there are substantial differences. It is difficult, however, to find what is due to the new tradition, and what depends on Ṭūsī's alleged unorthodoxy, from the Ismaili point of view. The posterior development of the Eastern Ismaili literature was carried on by its promoters in an atmosphere of cruel persecutions and in the horrible conditions which prevailed in Persia under the Mongols, Timur, and the Safawides, and the later atrocities of Nadir, Uzbegs, Turkomans, Qajars. In spite of such a great stimulus as the Messianic expectations connected with the end of the millennium after the death of the Prophet, which had great repercussions all over the Muhammadan world, the Ismailis in Persia had to abstain from literary activity or to keep it perfectly secret. Those works which have come down to us from that time are all written in the vaguest possible and Sufic-like style, in which the majority of the ideas are so modified as to become completely unrecognizable.

The transfer of the religious centre of the Nizari branch to

India, under the protection of the British Government, helped to a great extent the revival of Ismaili literature in Persia and Central Asia. Several interesting works were produced, which exhibit quite a great effort in proportion to the paucity of the educated people amongst the impoverished and hard-pressed community in Persia. Improvement of educational facilities may cause a great revival in future.

IV

The student who is interested in the Ismaili literature most probably would look for information about its division into sections, in accordance with the "degrees of initiation", about which he reads in every book that is devoted to the subject. As I already have had the chance to note elsewhere,¹ these degrees of initiation, understood in the sense similar to the masonic degrees, etc., are pure fiction. There are no traces of them either in the Ismaili literature (according to the statements of most learned Ismaili specialists, in whom I have all reasons to have full confidence) or in practice. Quite naturally, the education of a learned Ismaili requires as much systematic and progressive study as any other form of learning anywhere. It is quite natural that people of no education were not encouraged to read difficult and most abstract treatises on high philosophy, because, quite naturally also, their misunderstanding of the ideas expressed therein would surely mislead them. The hierarchy of the spiritual dignitaries, which probably has given the basis to the whole story, apparently was in ordinary life purely administrative in character, though some symbolic meaning was attached to it in higher speculations. Just as in every religious community, people who devote themselves to profound studies in philosophy and theology are very rare outside clerical circles. And though a layman may or may not possess knowledge of these matters, such is obligatory in the case of high clerical dignitaries. Thus it is quite natural that a *dā'ī* or a *hujjat*

¹ An Ismailitic work by Nasiru'd-din Tusi, *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 534 and 557.

in the Fatimide time had to be "initiated" into the highest "wisdom", which was naturally not intended for everybody, and therefore "secret". But such knowledge alone did not make a *dā'ī*, and there were surely many people, just as there are many of them now, who have exactly the same learned qualifications with regard to the "secret" doctrine and yet may not occupy any special post. If there was any secret knowledge at all, it most probably belonged to purely worldly affairs connected with policy and administrative matters. During the period of the *satr*, as at present, the *dā'ī* is supposed, for instance, to know the place in which the hidden Imam resides. This is a great mystery, and yet it has nothing to do with the doctrine as such.

It is therefore very interesting to see how Ismailis themselves in those works which are kept in secrecy arrange their literature with regard to the gradual progress of the student. Such statements are found in some works, as, for instance, in the well-known *Kitābu'l-Azhār*, by Ḥasan b. Nūḥ of Bharuch (d. the 11th Dhī Qa'da, 939/4-vi-1533), cf. No. 275 further, in the list. He furnishes in the first volume a long account of his studies. But a far better and complete account is given in the *Fihristu'l-Majdū'*, mentioned above, on which the present notes are chiefly based. His work is exactly arranged on this system. Though *all* the Ismaili works, the *kutubu'd-da'wat*, are regarded as secret, there is nevertheless a great difference between those which are *simply* secret and those which are *very* secret (there are also *most* secret ones). The author of the *Fihrist* divides his work into thirteen sections, of which the first deals with works which do not belong to the Ismaili literature, and the last is simply the list of books which he has not personally seen. Thus there are *eleven* "degrees":

(i) Works on grammar and generally on studies of Arabic, which have nothing to do with religion. Some of the best known grammars and dictionaries, Persian and Arabic, are recommended.

(ii) Works of generally instructive contents, dealing with moral behaviour and with "wisdom of life".

(iii) Works on legal matters and on the *ẓāhir* of the religion, or its ritual and ceremonial prescriptions, *fiqh*.

(iv) Poetry, Ismailitic, of course, in the form of different *Dīwāns*, not including the versified special treatises.

(v) Works on ethics and moral life from a religious point of view, in purely Ismailitic, and not as in section ii, general tone.

(vi) Historical books, dealing with the lives of the Imams, *dā'īs*, and generally pious men and dignitaries of Ismailism (*ḥudūd*).

So far the works mentioned here are regarded as dealing with the *ẓāhir*.

The *bāṭin*, or very secret, are :

(vii) Works on the *ta'wīl* and the *ḥaqā'iq*, of an easier variety.

(viii) The *ḥaqā'iq* works proper, dealing with philosophy and esoteric matters. They are to be read in order, one after the other.

(ix) Works which cannot be read without a special permission from those authorized to give it. The lower degree.

(x) The same. The higher degree.

(xi) Questions and answers connected with the preceding sections (this division obviously is purely technical, and does not imply any special degree of mystery).

(xii) The *most* secret works (*kutubū'l-kibār*), or the most difficult philosophical compendia.

(xiii) The works about which the author had heard or read, but which he had not personally seen. Strangely, amongst them are mentioned many works which appear to be fairly common now.

Thus, as we may see, there are in reality *four* "degrees" of works, separated with regard to the permission to read them: the first, the *ẓāhir* works, which logically should be

not concealed at all ; the second, the secret Ismaili works, which may be read by the faithful without special licence, but should not be shown to the outsiders who may use them for accusation of the community ; the third, the religious secret works which cannot be read without a special licence, based, as I was told, on a special examination whenever the question arises ; and the fourth, the difficult highly abstract works which can be read only by specialists.

This seems a perfectly logical and, from the point of view of a really religious man cautious about his spiritual progress, even very liberal scheme. One may only be amazed at the impudence of authors like an-Nuwayrī and others, who presented their own inventions as reliable information, taken as truth by different students.

We may add here a few observations on the general character of the Ismaili literature.

There is nothing like the discipline of *tafsīr* in Ismailism. "We use a dictionary instead of special *tafsīrs*," as they say.¹ I have never seen either any works on the *qira'at*, on the criticism of the Coranic text, etc.

There are only a few works on the *ḥadīth*, and some of them are by the 'āmma, i.e. by non-Ismailis. They accept a limited number of the apocryphal works on the Shi'ite tradition, but these are chiefly connected either with *fiqh* or with vague moral precepts.

Dogmatical works are many, and some of them deal with the subject quite systematically. Matters belonging to the *ẓāhir* are usually dealt with in books on *fiqh*, but the higher prescriptions are invariably connected with the studies of the *ta'wīl*.

The controversial literature is large, but most exasperating. Ismailis always had a great number of enemies, and

¹ I was assured by some learned specialists, in whom I have confidence, that there is no such thing as a work on *tafsīr* in Ismailism. The psychological reason for this is apparently clear : those portions of the Coran that are plain need no comment, and those which are difficult may be explained only by *ta'wīl*, which can be received only from the Imam.

quite enough of their internal dissenters and heretics. Unfortunately, obviously under the necessity of concealment, they became accustomed to write in a most elusive way. Very often neither the real name of the heretic is mentioned nor any dates or circumstances from which one may discover to whom the author refers. A student becomes irritated when he reflects how precious records are thus rendered useless.

The esoteric works form the most numerous variety of the Ismaili literature, and there is a great number of them which are merely imitations and compilations. From the limited number of them which I could see, I could gather an impression that in substance they scarcely show any appreciable progress or development of the original ideas, while there is a great deal of difference in details. Whether this is so remains to be seen when they become more accessible.

The most peculiar feature of the Ismaili literature, which is here developed much more than in the general literary tradition of the Persian or Arabic world, is the proportionally great number of collections of small works, and typical extracts from the large ones, consisting of different questions, documents, discourses, etc. They are sometimes invaluable for preserving some precious documents which otherwise would be inevitably lost. Some of them are arranged systematically, like the famous *Kitābu'l-Azhār*, covering a wide range; others deal with some special subject.

Another peculiar feature of the Ismaili literature is the comparatively large number of autobiographies, or at any rate biographies written by disciples of the great men, probably with their own participation. Such *sīrats* may offer very interesting material to the historians of Islamic nations by their sidelights on the events. The only great disadvantage of the historical works of the Ismailis is the absence of references to their sources of information and their extremely narrow outlook. Those works which are preserved now are usually compositions of the Yamanites. And they treat events

all over the Islamic world only in so far as they are connected with the Yaman. Even the history of the Fatimides is almost reduced to the review of their relations with that isolated corner. The real battlefield of civilization of that period, Persia, almost does not exist for these Yaman-minded people ; the references to the " Khorasan ", as they call it, are rare exceptions.

Apparently the only known work on geography and travel written by an Ismaili is the famous *Safar-nāma* by Nāsiri Khusraw. Light reading, of purely didactic content, was, however, represented by a few works of world-wide importance, such as the book of Kalila and Dimna, the story of Barlaam and Budhasaf, etc.

These notes would be incomplete if we were to omit to give some information about the Ismaili manuscripts and libraries. Bohras in India, as probably Ismailis in other parts of the world, have quite different standards with regard to MSS. from those in other Islamic communities. As their MSS. are invariably written for study, and are not intended to be shown to anybody, except a few friends, the study of calligraphy probably never was popular amongst them. The copy is valued entirely by its internal merits, i.e. correctness, and calligraphy is of no account, so far as the text is legible. Some people attach great value to the sentimental side of the matter, in case the copy was transcribed by a relative or friend, etc. Therefore the Ismaili handwritings are mostly individual, do not belong to any well-known school, and are very difficult to date and locate. As a rule they are mostly quite modern (copying is still in great demand amongst them), and copies a hundred years or so old are regarded as " ancient ". MSS. over three hundred years old are extremely rare. Most unfortunately, though the Ismaili MSS. usually are extremely well kept, they are copied on very bad, usually thin and coloured, machine-made paper, which so quickly deteriorates in the warm and humid climate of India. Therefore

very little will remain of the majority of them after twenty or thirty years. Professional scribes are rather rare nowadays, and usually such copies are either the production of students or of amateurs who want to have some particular work for their use.

Every educated Bohra, whether learned or not, always has a few religious books, either MSS. or printed. The well-to-do often have quite large collections, though they neither read them themselves nor lend them to anybody, pretending that they have no books. Some of them, who are well known as owners of large collections, never have exactly the book that one needs, even the most common one. The "basic" items of every collection are the *Ṣaḥīfa*, the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*, and often *Mawsimī Bahār*. Some people possess quite large libraries, something like 200 or 300 volumes. The largest library is that belonging, or rather in charge of, His Holiness the Mullaji Saheb, in Surat. It contains (as is averred) many thousands of MSS., many rare and rarest works, autographs of famous men and even of the Imams themselves, many excellent ancient copies, etc. According to the latest customs which are strictly followed by those concerned, every orthodox Bohra's private library is confiscated on his death, and goes to this library. Therefore one may expect a huge number of inferior copies of one and the same popular work. Very unfortunately a library so unique in the world is entirely inaccessible not only to an outsider, but even to the faithful themselves, unless they have special connections with the people in charge. One may also expect that it is in a chaotic condition, and that it is not easy to find anything in it quickly.

The usual arrangement of the books in the private *khizānas* is exactly the same as that given above, from the *Fihristu'l-Majdū'*. Each of such classes is usually housed in a separate box or cupboard or bundle, with some fancy numeration on each enclosure separately, so that when a book is taken out and then replaced it can easily go to the wrong bundle, and ultimately complete chaos is the result.

The Khojas do not hide their religious books ; in fact, many of them are printed and sold to anybody. But they are strongly protected from the curiosity of outsiders by the difficulty of the language and the fact that only a very few Muhammadans, other than Khojas themselves and the Bohras, are familiar with the Gujrati characters.

Ismailis in Central Asia hide their books, but not so much as in Persia. The most sacred and secret book of the Badakhshanis, the *Ummu'l-kitāb*, for instance, can be read only at night, in a secluded place, and not by more than two people at a time.¹ The great scarcity of the religious literature of the Persian and Central Asian Ismailis is probably entirely due to the scrupulous concealment, in consequence of which many works cannot be found again, by the owners themselves or by their heirs.

The present list is arranged as far as possible in chronological order, under the authors, but there are many cases in which some doubt exists about the correctness of the information about the authorship. Some works are attributed to different authors even on the copies themselves. There are suspiciously many works ascribed to different *dā'īs*. And though it is quite possible that the *dā'īs*, as the most learned members of the community, really more frequently composed books than others, there is also an easy opening for mistake in the fact that the Ismailis have a custom of keeping their chronology by the periods of the office of different *dā'īs*, whose names and chronological sequence they must know by heart. If asked as to when so-and-so lived, an Ismaili would invariably reply : under the *dā'ī* so-and-so. Such close

¹ The reason for this particular restriction obviously lies in the restrictions of the Sunnite *sharī'at*, requiring two witnesses in accusations of serious character. In case enmity arises between the two participants and they would like to accuse each other in heresy, only one witness is insufficient. Though such analogy is not quite proper in this case, we may mention that a similar custom of participation of only two persons is observed also in drinking wine in Afghanistan and Central Asia.

association may often lead to the omission of the unfamiliar name, and by replacement of it with one that is familiar to everybody. In some cases the name of the author is entirely unknown, though the period of the *dā'ir* is known, and this again may lead to faulty association. But in spite of all, the Ismaili literature is a matter of which a community may be really proud, and such small defects probably do not interfere with the general outlines of the picture of its general progress.

All works in the list which are not mentioned in the *Fihristu'l-Majdū'* are marked with an asterisk. They either were taken from some literary source, which is given in abbreviation in brackets, or simply seen in some private collection.

The works of unknown period are arranged simply in the alphabetical order of their titles.

I. LITERATURE OF WESTERN ISMAILIS

A. DAWUDIS

§ 1. WORKS OF WHICH THE CHRONOLOGY CAN BE ESTABLISHED

i. Mawlā-nā 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the son-in-law of the Prophet, the Waṣī, or Asāsu'l-Imāmat (d. the 21st Ramaḍān 40/28-i-661).

For works ascribed to him, obviously apocryphal, cf. Brock. i, 43. His (1) *Dīwān* and (2) *Akālīm* are much used amongst the Ismailis, apparently in the same version as amongst the Ithna'asharis. (3) *Waṣīyyat*, of moral and religious contents, written just after it was uttered on his deathbed by 'Alī (included in the second volume of the *Da'ā'im*). Another (4) *Waṣīyyat* (see *Azhār*, vi), given to Ḥasan on the eve of the battle of Ṣiffin. Authenticity of these works is very doubtful indeed.

ii. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. 'Alī, the Imām (d. ca. 113/731).

Works attributed to him are not preserved in the *da'wat khizānas*. (5) **Kitāb ṣifātī'l-Jannat wa'n-Nār*, mentioned by Shahrastani (?), cf. Mass. 330, and (6) **ar-Risālat ilā Jābir al-Ju'fī* (Mass. ibid.), were both "edited" either by the famous rebel, al-Mughīra, or by Maymūn b. al-Aswad al-Makkī (d. ca. 180/796). The *Haft-bāb*, ascribed to Nāṣiri Khusraw, mentions also his (7) **Kashfī kabīr* or *Jāmi'i kabīr*, both, most probably, quite fictitious.

iii. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad, the Imām (d. ca. 148/765).

Though he is supposed to be the author of many books, none of them is preserved (cf. *Kutābu'l-Jafr*, Brit. Mus., 426-10, which is forgery, see Brock. i, 220, and Steinschneider, *ZDMG.*, xviii, 120). In F. only one work is mentioned, (8)

Miṣbāhu'sh-sharī'at wa miftāhu'l-ḥaqīqat, divided into 95 *bābs*. It is apparently the same work as referred to in KH. 2964, which, according to the *Bihāru'l-anwār*, by Majlisī, deals with Sufism, and its author is unknown.

iv. al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī, a devoted disciple of Imam Ja'far, inclined towards extremism (Kashi, 206–11). He died, or was executed together with Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb, in Kufa in 145/762. Cf. Tusi, 739, who vaguely mentions his works.

(9) *K. al-Ibtidā' wa'l-intihā'* (*mimmā rawā-hu 'anī's-Ṣādiq*) ; (10) *al-Adillat 'alā'l-khalq*, a refutation of those who deny the 'ahd ; (11) *al-Masā'ilu'l-Mufaḍḍaliyya* ; (12) *Riwāyatū'l-Āraz* (MT., ii). None of these works are mentioned either by Tusi, Kashi, or KH, and most probably they are all late compilations of extracts from various early books. Several other works are found in some private libraries, most probably being merely compilations of the traditions related by him : (12a) **K. at-Tawḥīd* ; (12b) **Abwāb fī'l-ma'ārif* ; (12c) **R. fī'l-Khiṣāl as-sab'īn al-maḥmūda wa addādi-hā wa fī darjī'l-mu'min wa darkī'l-kāfir* ; (12d) **Fuṣūl min al-asrārī'l-'āliyya*.

v. Mawlā-nā Aḥmad b. 'Abdī'l-lah b. Muḥammad b. Isma'il, the second of the hidden Imams, who probably flourished at the end of the second and beginning of the third century A.H. He is rarely mentioned by name, and the Ismaili authors refer to him as *Ṣāhibu'r-Rasā'il*.

(13) *Jāmi'u'r-rasā'il*, otherwise *Rasā'il Ikhwānī's-Ṣafā wa khullānī'l-wafā'*, the famous encyclopædia of sciences, natural and humanitarian, in 52 *risālas*, arranged in four groups. A detailed account is found in F. and in the fourth volume of the *'Uyūnu'l-akhbār*. The work is better known to the Ismailis under the title *ar-Rasā'ilu'sh-sharīfa*, and is regarded as the "ladder to salvation". Though it has been printed many times, it is regarded as one of the *ḥaqā'iq* books which are to be kept secret. According to the general opinion (cf.

a summary in Brock. i, 213-14), the work is a production of a society of learned men in Basra towards the end of the fourth/tenth century, in which there were included: Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Mushīr al-Bustī; al-Muqaddasī; 'Alī b. Hārūn az-Zanjānī; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nahrjūrī (or al-Mihrjānī), and al-'Awfī. It is as difficult to believe that this encyclopædia is the work of a single scholar as it is to think that such a learned society could exist and produce an anonymous work of such importance. Most probably (though this is merely a guess) the treatise was produced some time near the end of the fourth/tenth century (after the seizure of Egypt), under the patronage of the early Fatimides, in connection with general work on the philosophy of Ismailism. (14) *ar-Risālatu'l-Jāmi'a*, in two volumes, a philosophical and esoteric synopsis of the disciplines treated in the encyclopædia, supposed to be composed by Imam Aḥmad himself. It is regarded as a very secret esoteric work. (15) **Jāmi'atu'l-Jāmi'a*, a still more abstract and esoteric philosophic and religious synopsis of the domains of human knowledge. The author of it is unknown, but it is generally believed that the work in any case is *not* by the Ṣāhibu'r-Rasā'il. Copies of it are extremely rare. It is not mentioned in F.

vi. Sayyid-nā 'Abdān. The present Ismaili tradition insists that this 'Abdān has nothing to do with the early Ismaili or Qarmatian propagandist who died in 286/899, and whose works are referred to in the *Fihrist* of Ibn Nadīm (cf. also Mass. 331). The real date of his death is not known, but it is supposed that he lived during the Fatimide period.

(16) *R. ash-Sham'a*, also called *al-Mafātīḥ* (probably quite different from *R. ash-Sham'a*, which is one of the Druze treatises; cf. S. de Sacy, Exp. I, cccclxxx).

vii. Ibn Ḥammād. Apparently one of the Banū Ḥammād mentioned in the *Fihrist* of Ibn Nadīm, who were subordinate

Ismaili preachers "before Abū Ya'qūb (as-Sijistānī?) who was appointed by the Imam as a *khalīfa* at Ray".

(17) *Ash'ār fī madh Ahlī'l-Bayt*, mentioned accidentally.

viii. Sayyid-nā Abū Ḥātim 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān ar-Rāzī al-Warsinānī, a *dā'ī* at Daylam, mentioned in the *Fihrist* I.N., cf. also Mass. 332. In his own work, *K. az-Zīna*, his name is given as Abū Ḥātim b. Ḥamdān.

(18) *K. az-Zīna*, mentioned in the *Fihrist* I.N., a large book of about 1,200 pages octavo, dealing with theological terminology and giving detailed information on each subject. It was composed soon after the ascension of al-Qā'im, i.e. soon after 322/934, and was presented to the latter by the author, as mentioned in the fifth volume of the *Uyūn*, where an anecdote pointing to the high appreciation on the part of the author's contemporaries is related. It is arranged according to subjects, but on the whole it is not easy to find any term in it. First are given the matters belonging to the *ḥurūf*, then different eschatological matters, names of God, etc. Some passages are very interesting, e.g. those dealing with geography, early sects, etc. There is no regular division into *bābs*. The work is classed by the Ismailis as dealing with *luḡhāt*, and is not treated as a secret book. MSS. of it are somewhat rare.¹

(19) *A'lāmu'n-Nubuwwat*, a most interesting early treatise on Ismaili philosophy. It was composed to give a reply to a heretic (*mulḥid*), not mentioned by name, who asked why God chooses some people for a Divine mission in preference to others; why and how the bloodshed, which originates from this, is lawful; explanations of the nature of the Deity, of *nafs*, *hayūlā*, space, and time, the five eternal elements, which

¹ قال ابو حاتم الرازى هذا كتاب فيه معانى اسماء و استفتاحات الفاظ
وعبارات عن كلمات عربييه يحتاج الفقهاء الى معرفتها ولا يستغنى الادباء عنها
و في تعلمها نفع كبيرو زينة عظيمة لكل ذى دين ومروءة الفناء على الفاظ
العلماء الخ.

are said not to be equal, and not all eternal. The ways of knowing this: religion by blind following (*taqlīd*) and critical adoption (*naẓr wa baḥṭh*), concerning the principles, *uṣūl*. *Qiyās* is forbidden. The next question is whether the Divine authority of the prophetic mission is consistent with the apparent divergency of the teaching of different prophets. The reason why God has chosen Muḥammad, Jesus, Moses, etc., analysis of their respective messages, and of their differences. Refutation of various impious doctrines, defence of the theory of the miracle; the Coran as the greatest miracle; refutation of the claim of philosophers to explain the structure of the Universe by reasoning. Finally there are given proofs of the superiority of religious knowledge.

(20) **Kitābu'l-Jāmi'* (?), on *fiqh*, mentioned in the *Fihṛ. I.N.*, is unknown to Ismailis in India.

(20a) **K. al-Islāh*, referred to in *K. ar-Riḡāḍ*, by Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī, see No. 137 further on. It is a fairly large book of some 500 pages, dealing with the *ta'wīl* of, so-to-say, mythological contents of the Coran, concerning various prophets. It is divided into numerous *faṣls*, which are not numbered, and have no special headings. Sometimes there appear the headings *bāb*, instead of *faṣl*.¹

ix. Sayyid-nā Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq b. Aḥmad as-Sijzī or as-Sijistānī (surnamed Bandāna ? cf. Mass. 332), executed in Bukhara in 331/942.

(21) **Asāsu'd - da'wat*; (22) **Kashfu'l - maḥjūb*; (23) **Ta'wīlu'sh-sharā'i'* (or, perhaps, *Ta'wīlu'sh-shar'i'at*); (24) **Sūsu'l-baqā* (or *Sūsu'n-ni'ām*); and (25) **R. al-Bāhira*, are works by him mentioned by Biruni (Hind, 32), al-Baghdadi (*Farq b. firaq*, 276, cf. Mass. 332), and *Zādu'l-musāfir*, by Nāṣiri Khusraw, 422; out of these probably only Nos. 23 and 25 still exist.

(26) *K. al-Iftikhār*, divided into 17 *bābs*: 1. *tawḥīd*; 2. *amru'l-lah*; 3. *al-aṣḥān*; 4. *jadd wa fath wa khayāl*; 5.

¹ Beg. يا ايها الذين امنوا لا تدخلوا بيوتا غير بيوكم الخ.

al-hurūfu's-sab'atu'l-'ulwiyya; 6. *ar-risālat*; 7. *al-waṣāyat*; 8. *al-Imāmat*; 9. *al-qiyāmat*; 10. *al-ba'ih*; 11. *ath-thawāb wa'l-'iqāb*; 12. *ma'khadhū't-ta'wīl minā'l-Qur'ān*; 13. *wudū' wa ṭahārat*; 14. *aṣ-ṣalawāt*; 15. *az-zakāt*; 16. *aṣ-ṣawm*; 17. *al-hajj ilā'l-Bayt*.¹

(27) *Ithbātu'n-nubuwwāt*, div. into 7 *maqālas*, each subdiv. into 12 *faṣls*: 1. *at-tafāwut al-marjūd fī'l-makhlūqīn*; 2. (*wujūbu'r-risālat*); 3. *ithbātu'n-nubuwwat min jihati'l-ashyā' i't-ṭabī'iyya*; 4. same, *min jihati'l-ashyā' i'r-rūḥāniyya*; 5. *al-anbiyā' kānū muttafiqīn fī'l-ḥaqā'iq wa kānū mukhtalifīn fī'z-zawāhir*; 6. *kamiyyat adwāri-him wa mā bayn kull dawr wa'd-dawri'l-ākhar*; 7. *al-'ajā'ibu'l-marjūdāt fī'l-Qur'ān wa'sh-sharī'at wa'd-dalā'il 'alā ithbāt nubuwwat Muḥammad*.²

(28) *al-Mawāzīn*, div. into 19 *mīzāns*: 1. *mukhālafatu'l-Ḥaqq*; 2. *ījābu's-sa'adat li-man ajāb da'wata'l-Ḥaqq*; 3. *kayfiyyatu'l-burhān*; 4. *ījāb ma'rifatī'l-Mubdi'*; 5. *salbu'l-wujūh iyyā-hu*; 6. *salb qidma*; 7. *salbu't-tashbīh wa't-ta'ṭīl*; 8. *tawḥīd bi't-taqrīb*; 9. *amr wa ma'rifat 'ibādati-hi*; 10. *'aql wa ma'rifat asmā'i-hi*; 11. *al-furū' ath-thalātha al-mutafarri'a minā'l-aṣṣayn*; 12. — ?; 13. *nutaqā'*; 14. *usus*; 15. *a'imma*; 16. *ḥujaj wa du'āt*; 17. *al-Qā'im*; 18. *thawābu'l-muḥsinīn*; 19. *ath-thawābu'l-abadī huwa'l-'ilmu't-ta'yīdī*.

(29) *Tuḥfatu'l-mustajīb* (or *-mustajībīn*); not divided into regular chapters, and dealing with: *Bārī*, *amr*, *kalima*, *'aql*, *sābiq*, *qadā*, *hayūlā*, *nafs*, *lauḥ*, *'arsh*, *thānī*, *tālī*, *qadar*, *ṣūrat*, *shams*, *qamar*, *aṣṣalān*, *jadd*, *fath*, *khayāl*, *ma'nā'l-hurūfi'l-musbi'a*, *man yuqābilu-hum minā'n-nutaqā'*.

¹ Beg. الحمد لله المعبود بلا ولا الا الذي سناء مجده . . . فانما هم قوم يعرفوا هذا المذهب ولا وقفوا على ابنية اصله فكان اكثر ما تقضوا به نقضا عليهم فسخطا لمذهبهم من حيث لا يشعرون، فاني اردت ان اجمع في هذا الكتاب ابنية اهل الحق في التوحيد وفي الملائكة وفي الاسامي و اغراضها وفي الرسالة و الوصاية و امامة و ما في البعث و الثواب والعقاب الخ.

² Beg. الحمد لله الذي جاد بتائيس الاليسيات لامن ايس ومن باظهار الخ الحباء و الخفيات لامن قوة الذي مجوده برز في اول ايس لا بصورة الاشياء الخ.

(30) *al-Yanābī'*, divided into 40 *yanbū's*, dealing with the meaning of the "Source", with *Mubdī'*, *amr*, 'aql, *nafs*, purpose of creation, spheres, omnipresence of God, origin of man, 'ibādat, angels, forces of nature, spiritual forces, knowledge, Paradise and Hell, meaning of the cross of Jesus, the cross and the formula of *shahādat*, personality (*huwīyyat*) of the Qā'im, plurality and unity, the return of mankind to the eternal *thawāb*, the meaning of the "word" (*kalima*) of the Creator, and on the relation between the Divine help (*ta'yīd*) and those helped in the physical world.¹

(31) *Sullamū'n-najāt*, a very interesting treatise on philosophy, dealing with *Imāmat*, *nuburwat*, and other connected matters. Apparently no regular division into chapters.

(32) *K. an-Nuṣrat fī sharḥ mā qāla-hu'sh-shaykhu'l-ḥamīd fī kitābi'l-Maḥṣūl*, a commentary on *K. al-Maḥṣūl*, see No. 39. It is lost, as I was told. (33) *al-Maqālīd fī ma'nā'l-amr* (extracts in *al-Azhār*, i). (34) *Musliyyatu'l-aḥzān*, on the virtue of patience in sorrow. (35) *Sarā'iru'l-ma'ād wa'l-ma'āsh*, divided into 7 *faṣls*. Sometimes attributed to Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī. (36) *K. al-Wā'iz*, on ethics. (37) **Khaṣīnatu'l-adillat*, in 28 *khizānas*, on Ismaili 'aqā'id, usually forming a part of the famous "13 *risālas*" of Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī (cf. No. 125). This is doubtful; F. calls it anonymous. (38) **Kitābu'l-Gharīb fī ma'nā'l-iksīr* (?), on alchemy. This is apparently the same book as the *Ma'rīfatu'l-Iksīr*, found in a private collection. (38a) **Mu'nisu'l-qulūb*. (38b) **R. fī ta'līfī'l-arwāḥ*. (38c) **R. al-Amn minā'l-ḥayrat* (doubtful). All three are found in a private collection.

x. Abū 'Abdī'l-lah Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Naṣafī al-Bardha'ī, executed at the same time in Turkestan as the preceding author, i.e. 331/942, the famous *dā'ī* in the East. Not mentioned in F., and apparently quite unknown to the Ismailis at present. Cf. Mass. 332.

¹ Beg. . . . الحمد لله المقدس عن نعوت ما ايسه الابداع المنزه عن سماته
اما بعد، فان الاولى بالمرء العاقل اللبيب ان لا يستعمل خاطره الخ

(39) *K. al-Maḥṣūl*, cf. above, No. 32. In F. attributed to Ḥamidu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī. (39a) **K. kawni'l-ālam*, dealing with astronomy and cosmography, apparently from the religious standpoint (found in a private collection).

xi. Ja'far b. Maṣṣūrī'l-Yaman, a Yamanite *dā'ī*, who flourished about the middle of the fourth/tenth century.

(40) *Ta'wīlu'z-zakāt*, the best known of his works. (41) *al-Fatarāt wa'l-qirānāt*, otherwise called *Kitābu'l-Jafri'l-aswad*, dealing with prophecies and occult matters. It is supposed to be revealed by 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. (42) *al-Ālim wa'l-ghulām*. (43) *Asrāru'n-nuṭaqā'* (F.—not seen). (44) *Sarā'iru'n-nuṭaqā'*, different from the preceding work (F. also— not seen). (45) *al-Farā'id wa ḥudūdud-dīn* (perhaps the same as the *Ta'wīlu'l-farā'id*, MS. in Leyden, 1971, cf. Mass. 332), cf. No. 391. (46) *ar-Ridā' fī'l-bāṭin*, on the meaning of various religious prescriptions. (47) *Ta'wīl Sūratī'n-Nisā'*. (48) *Ta'wīlu'l-ḥurūfi'l-mu'jam*. (49) *ash-Shawāhid wa'l-bayān fī ikhbāt maqām Amīri'l-mu'minīn wa'l-a'imma*, referring to the passages in which 'Alī is mentioned in the Coran, and narrating stories about the prophets. (50) **Kitābu'l-Kashf* (?).

xii. al-Manṣūr bi'l-lah, Abū'z-Zāhir Isma'īl, the third Fatimide khalif (334-341/946-953).

(51) *Tathbītu'l-Imāmat li-Mawlā-nā 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, attributed by some to the authorship of Qāḍī Nu'mān (q.v.), a small book, without division into chapters. (52) *al-Waṣīyyat*. (53) *Jāmi'atu'l-Jāmi'a*, cf. above, No. 15, sometimes attributed to the authorship of al-Manṣūr.

xiii. al-Mu'izz li-dīni'l-lah, Abū Tamīm Ma'add, the fourth Fatimide khalif (341-365/953-975).

(54) *ar-Rawḍa*, on the principal prescriptions of religion (by Qāḍī Nu'mān ?). (55) **ar-Risālat ilā Hasan al-Qarmaṭī*. (56) **Munājāt*. (57) **ar-Risālatu'l-Maṣḥūyya*, comp. in 358/969 (the last three works are mentioned in Mass. 332).

xiv. "Qādī Nu'mān," i.e. Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥayyūn at-Tamīmī, d. at the end of Jum. ii, 363/March, 974 (cf. *'Uyūnu'l-akhbār*, vi), apparently the most famous of all the Ismaili authors, whose works are still much studied. He is often claimed, as their own, by the Ithna'asharis, cf. the *Rawḍātu'l-Jannāt*, by Khwānsārī, ii, 219-220. Originally a Maliki, he joined the service of the Fatimides in 313/925, under al-Mahdī, and produced a great number of works of dogmatical and a few of historical content, which are very interesting because he was contemporary with the events described in them.¹ We may group his works as follows:—

Fiqh: (58) *al-Īḍāḥ*, a huge compendium of tradition concerning legal matters. Lost, probably at an early period. (59) **Mukhtaṣaru'l-Īḍāḥ*, doubtful, whether the same *Īḍāḥ* is referred to. Lost. (60) *K. al-Ikbbār fī'l-fiqh*. (61) *Mukhtaṣaru'l-āthār fī mā ruwiya min al-A'immati'l-āthār*, a well-known work on *fiqh*, composed by the order of al-Mu'izz. (62) *al-Iqtīṣār*, a well-known work on *fiqh*. (63) *Q. al-Muntakhaba*, a versified abbreviation of the preceding work, No. 62. (64) *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām fī dhikri'l-halāl wa'l-harām wa'l-qadāyā wa'l-aḥkām*, probably the most widely used and read of all Ismaili works, in two volumes, the first dealing with the fundamental beliefs and commandments of the religion, and the second with its legal system. An abridgment of it was recently published in Bombay by the Sulaymanis.² (64a) **Minhāju'l-farā'id*, usually attributed to Q.N., but mentioned neither in F., nor in *'Uyūn*; apparently quite spurious. (65) **al-Ittiṣāq wa'l-iftirāq*. Lost. (66) *al-Muqtaṣir*, an abridgment of the preceding work. Lost. (67) *al-Yanbū'*, an important work on *fiqh*, of which now only the second volume, dealing with legal matters, exists.

¹ A detailed biography of Qādī Nu'mān is being published by A. A. A. Fyzee.

² Beg. الحمد لله استفتاحاً بحمده وصلواته على رسوله . . . اما بعد، فانه .
لما كثر الدعاوى والآراء الخ.

Tradition: (68) *Sharḥu'l-akhbār fī faḍā'il-l-A'immati'l-athār*, composed by order of al-Mu'izz bi'l-lah. It is divided into 16 *juz*: 1. 'ilm, and other qualities of the Imams; 2. 'Alī was the first to embrace Islam; 3. *jihāds* of 'Alī; 4. his war against heretics; 5. on heretics who opposed 'Alī; 6. his war with Mu'awiya; 7. a refutation of the *hashwiyya* who extol the first khalifs; 8. Divine *amr* to obey 'Alī and his successors, and the supreme wisdom of 'Alī; 9. Revelation of the Coran concerning 'Alī and the Imams; 10. on the virtues of 'Alī and the promises of Paradise to all who follow him; 11. on revelation concerning the *Ahlu'l-bayt*; 12. on the *faḍā'il* of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn; 13. story of Ḥasan, his death by poison, and the story of Ḥusayn; 14. Ja'far b. Muḥammad, his son Isma'il, his grandson Muḥammad b. Isma'il, the concealed Imams; 15. the preaching of al-Mahdī and his miracles; 16. advantages of the party (*shī'at*) of 'Alī. (68a) **Qaṣ. Dhātu'l-miḥan*. (68b) **Qaṣ. Dhātu'l-minan* (both mentioned in the '*Uyūn*'). The first deals with the story of the Kharijite rebel Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, who revolted in the reign of al-Qā'im, and died in the reign of al-Manṣūr. The second deals with some events from the life of al-Mu'izz. Both are lost.¹

Works on *ḥaqā'iq*: (69) *Ta'wīlu'd-Da'ā'im*, an esoteric interpretation of the matters dealt with in the first volume of the *Da'ā'im*. (70) *Ta'wīlu'sh-sharī'at*, apparently an elementary work, "resembling the *Rawḍa*, cf. No. 54, a small work of about 16 leafs." ('*Uyūn*'). (71) *Asāsū't-ta'wīl*, or *Asās ta'wīl'l-bāṭin*, a vast treatise on the *ta'wīl* of the Coranic mythology, tracing the indications as to Imams and *ḥujjats* in the Biblical stories of the ancient prophets and patriarchs, remarkable for its monotony and lack of originality. The book is greatly admired, and is the best known amongst Qāḍī Nu'mān's compositions of this kind. It was translated into Persian by Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyid ash-Shirāzī (q.v.), cf. No. 165. (72) *Sharḥu'l-khuṭab al-latī li-Amīri'l-Mu'minin 'Alī*.

¹ I am obliged for the information about these two works to A. A. A. Fyzee.

(73) *K. at-tawhīd wa'l-Imāmat*. (74) **K. al-Imāmat* (?), the same as the preceding work ? (75) **Ithbātu'l-ḥaqā'iq fī ma'rifat tawhīdi'l-Khāliq*. (76) **Hudūdū'l-ma'rifat fī tafsi'rī'l-Qur'ān wa tanbih 'alā't-ta'wīl*. Lost. (77) **Nahju's-sabīl ilā ma'rifat 'ilmī't-ta'wīl*. Lost. (78) **ar-Rāḥat wa't-tasallī*, a small booklet, divided into seven *faṣls* : 1. *quwwatu'l-istiṭā'at* ; 2. *kayfiyyatu'l-wahy* ; 3. *ibrāzu'l-khalq* ; 4. *al-farq bayna'l-khāliq wa'l-makhlūq* ; 5. *ma'rifat muḥtāj ilā'l-makān* ; 6. *ma'rifat thawābi'l-'aql wa 'iqābi-hi* ; 7. *fī ma'rifati-ka bi-hi 'alā'l-kamāl wa intiqāli-ka ilay-hi*. Doubtful. Though it is attributed to the authorship of Qādī Nu'mān on the manuscript itself, its general style seems quite different from that of Q.N. Besides, it is mentioned amongst his books neither in F., nor the 'Uyūn. The work itself, however, seems to be old, as it is referred to in *al-Azhār*.¹

Controversy : (79) *Ikhtilāf uṣūli'l-madhāhib*, a comparatively small work refuting erroneous opinions of different religious and philosophical tendencies. The tone is perfectly abstract, no references to real names, dates, tenets, etc., are given.² (80) **ar-Risālatu'l-Miṣriyya fī'r-radd 'alā'sh-Shāfi'ī*. Lost. (81) **ar-Radd 'alā Aḥmad b. Shurayḥ al-Baghdādī*. Lost. (82) **Dhātu'l-bayān fī'r-radd 'alā Ibn Qutayba*. Lost. (83) **Dāmighu'l-mūjiz fī'r-radd 'alā'l-Itkī*. Lost.

'*Aqā'id*, etc. : (84) *al-Mukhtāra* (Qaṣ.), a versified treatise on the Imāmat of 'Alī, and refutation of sects which do not accept this. (85) *K. al-Himma fī ādāb atbā'i'l-A'imma*, on the example of the Imams in the matters of worship and religious duties. (86) *K. at-Taḥārūt*, divided into three *kitābs*, on *ṭahārat*, *ṣalāt*, and *janā'iz*. (87) **al-Urjūza*, a versified treatise on eschatology. (88) *Mafātīḥu'n-ni'mat* (?), not mentioned in the 'Uyūn. (90) **Kitābu'd-du'ā* (?). (91) *Kitāb*

¹ Beg. الحمد لله رب العالمين . . . فصل، الكلمة الازلية و العلة العلوية . نور الانوار الخ

² Beg. الحمد لله على ما يسبغ من عطائه . . . اما بعد، فاني رأيت اهل القبله بعد اتقاقهم على ظاهر نص القرآن و تصديق الرسول الخ

(*ibādāt*) *yawm wa layl*. Lost. (92) **Kayfiyyat ṣalāt 'alā'n-Nabī*. Lost? (93) **at-Ta'aqqub wa'l-intiqād*. Lost. (94) **Kitābu'l-hulā wa'th-thiyāb*. Lost. (95) **K. as-Shurūt*. Lost. (96) **Manāmātu'l-A'imma*. Lost. (97) **Ta'wīlu'r-ru'yā'*. (98) **at-Taqrī' wa't-ta'nīf*. Lost.

Ethics (*wa'z*): (99) **Tarbiyatu'l-mu'minīn*, or *Risālat ilā'l-murshidi'd-dā'i bi-Miṣr fī tarbiyati'l-mu'minīn*. (100) *al-Majālis wa'l-musāyarāt wa'l-mawāqif wa't-tawqī'āt*, a diary of the author during the period of his personal association with al-Mu'izz bi'l-lah: "in this book there is all that I heard from al-Mu'izz li-dīni'l-lah, of his wisdom, instruction, knowledge, as expressed by him in conversations with him or at his assemblies, at the time of his residence or during his travels" (the book is at present being published in a Gujrati translation in the *Gulzārī Ḥakīmī* at Burhanpur). (101) **Ma'ālīmu'l-Mahdī*, didactic aphorisms ascribed to al-Mahdī, apparently an extract from No. 68.

Tradition and history: (102) *al-Manāqib li-ahl bayt Rasūli'l-lah*, a large work, containing tradition about the Imams (only down to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq). At the end there is an interesting account of the Umayyads, refuting their claims to rightful succession as khalifs.¹ (103) *Iftitāḥu'd-da'wat wa ibtidā'u'd-dawlat*, a history of the *da'wat* in Northern Africa which ended in the establishment of the Fatimide khalifat, from the beginning to about Muḥarram 346/Apr. 957, the date of the completion of the work.²

xv. Ibn Hānī, or Abū'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Hānī al-Andalusī, born in Seville; he came to Africa, joined Jawhar, the famous Ismaili general, served under al-Manṣūr and al-Mu'izz, and was killed in Barqa in 362/973, see Brock. i, 91.

¹ Beg. الحمد لله الاول الازلى بغير غاية و الآخر الابدى بلا نهاية الخ.

² Beg. الحمد لله مؤيد الحق و ناصر اهله و دافع الباطل . . . ذكر الخ
ابتداء الدعوة باليمن و القائم بها و السبب في قيامه باسبابها الخ

(104) *Dīwān*, in praise of Fatimides. MSS. of it are common in European libraries, cf. Brock., loc. cit. It has been printed repeatedly, and is now being edited by Maulvi Zāhid 'Alī of Hyderabad (who himself is an Ismaili).

xvi. al-Manṣūr al-Jawdhārī, a secretary of Ustādh Jawdhar, an important official of the time of al-Mu'izz.

(105) *Sīrat Ustādh Jawdhar*, supposed to be written by him at the dictation of his patron himself.

xvii. Tamīm b. Ma'add, the second son of al-Mu'izz, born in 337/948, d. in 374/984, cf. Brock., i, 91.

(106) *Dīwān* (MS. Leyden, 634), in praise of al-Mu'izz and al-'Azīz (as F. says: *wa lam takun fī'l-kitābat khawfa't-taṭwīl wa'l-ikhār*).

xviii. Ya'qūb al-Wazīr b. Yusūf b. Killis, a Fatimide official, d. the 4th Dhī'l-ḥijja, 380/22-2-991.

(107) *Mansaku'l-ḥajj al-kabīr*. (108) *Kitābu'l-figh*, also called *Muṣannafu'l-Wazīr*, mentioned in the sixth vol. of the 'Uyūn.

xix. Muḥammad b. Zayd, a *dā'ī* of the time of al-'Azīz (365-386/975-996).

(109) *Kitābu'l-Balāgh*, not seen by the author of F. Apparently different from the work referred to under this title by the Zaydite Imam al-Mu'ayyad bi'l-lah (born 333/944, d. 411/1020) in his charges against the Ismailis, refuted by Sayyid-nā Ḥamīdu'd-dīn Kirmānī (q.v.) and different from the Druze work, *Risālatu'l-Balāgh wa'n-nihāyat fī't-tawḥīd*, comp. in 409/1018, cf. de Sacy, *Exposé*, cccclxviii.

xx. Ḥasan (or Muḥassin) b. Muḥammad al-Mahidī(?), perhaps al-Maybudhī (after Maybud or Maybīd, a town between Yazd and Kirman), a *dā'ī* of al-'Azīz's time. He was sent on a mission to Ray, but was received with hostility. After a narrow escape from execution, reaching safety, he wrote :

(110) *Risālat ilā jamā'at ahl Ray* (given in *extenso* in MT., ii, and *Azhār*, iii).¹

xxi. Ibn Zawlāq, i.e. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Zawlāq al-faqīh (doubtful whether an Ismaili).

(111) *Sīratu'l-Qā'id Jawhar*, life of the famous Ismaili general, Jawhar, being apparently an extract from a larger work by the same author, i.e. his *Akhbāru'd-dawlati'l-Mu'izziyya*, which apparently is lost.

xxii. Sayyid-nā Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (or Muḥammad) an-Naysābūrī, flourished under al-'Azīz and al-Ḥākim, i.e. towards the end of the fourth/tenth century and beginning of the fifth/eleventh century.

(112) *Istīārū'l-Imām 'Abdī'l-lah b. Muḥammad wa tafarruqu'd-du'āt fī'l-jazā'ir li-ṭalabi-hi wa istiḡāmati-hi*, a short story about the search for the hidden Imam, not much savouring of history.² It was translated into Gujrati, and lithographed under the title *Kashfu'z-zalām fī tarjumat Istīārī'l-Imām*, by Ghulām 'Alī b. Isma'īl (Bombay, 1334/1916). (113) *al-Mūjizatu'l-kāfiya fī ādāb* (or *shurūṭ*) *ad-du'āt wa'l-hudūd*, quoted in the *Tuhfatu'l-qulūb* (see No. 208) and *Azhār*, ii. (114) *az-Zāhira fī ma'rifati'd-dārī'l-ākhirā*, on eschatology, in seven *bābs*: 1. on *qabr*; 2. *munkar wa nakīr*; 3. *manshar*; 4. ?; 5. *rawḍa*; 6. *ḥaḍra*; 7. *Jannat wa'n-Nār*. (115) *Ithbātu'l-Imāmat*, a small book, of about 120 pages of small size, divided into unnumbered *faṣls*.³

¹ Beg. كُتِبَتْ يَا مُشَاتِحِي وَ اخْلَاطِي اِطَالِ اللّٰهَ بَقَاءَكُمْ و اِدامَ عِزِّكُمْ وَ جَمَعَ عَلَيَّ الْيَهْدَى وَ التَّقْوَى اَمْرَكُمْ . . . وَ اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ

² Beg. اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ حَمْدًا كَثِيرًا كَمَا هُوَ اَهْلُهُ وَ مُسْتَحَقُّهُ . . . اَعْلَمَ عَلِمَ اللّٰهَ اَلرَّشْدُ اَنَّهُ اَوَّلُ مَا فَقَدَ الْاِمَامُ وَ بَقِيَ الدَّعَاةُ مُتَجَبِّرِينَ اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ

³ Beg. اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ بَاعَثَ الرِّسَالَ وَ الْاَنْبِيَاءَ وَ جَاعَلَ الْاَئِمَّةَ وَ الْخُلَفَاءَ نِعْمَةً لِلْاَوْلِيَاءَ وَ نِقْمَةً عَلَيَّ الْاَعْدَاءَ وَ صِلَاحًا لِلدِّينِ وَ الدُّنْيَا . . . اَمَّا بَعْدُ فَانَّهُ لَمَّا كَانَتِ الْاِمَامَةُ هِيَ قُطْبُ الدِّينِ وَ اَسَاسُهُ وَ التِّي يَدُورُ عَلَيْهَا جَمِيعُ اُمُورِ الدِّينِ وَ الدُّنْيَا وَ صِلَاحُ الْآخِرَةِ وَ الْاَوَّلَى اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ

xxiii. Sayyid-nā Ḥamīdu'd-dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abdī'l-lah al-Kirmānī, chief *dā'ī* under al-Ḥākim, *huwa asāsu'd-da'wat al-ladhī 'alay-hi 'imādu-hā wa bi-hi 'alā dhikru-hā*, etc., as stated in the sixth volume of the *'Uyūn*. The date of his death is not known, but he died shortly after 408/1017, which is the date of completion of one of his works.

(116) *al-Maṣābiḥ fī iḥbātī'l-Imāmat*, an introduction to the theory of Imamat, and the theory itself, in two *maqālas*, divided into 14 *miṣbāḥs*, and altogether into 105 *burhāns*. They deal with the usual *iḥbāt* of the Creator, *nafs*, punishment, law (*sharā'ī*), necessity of the *ta'wīl*, necessity of the Prophet; the second *maqāla* gives the *iḥbāt* of the Imamat, in seven *miṣbāḥs*: on the saintliness of the Imam (*'iṣmat*), impossibility of his being elected, transmission of Imamat by *naṣṣ* only; Imamat can be only one; on the Imamat of Isma'īl son of Ja'far and his descendants, and *iḥbāt* of the Imamat of al-Ḥākim.

(117) *Rāḥatu'l-'aql*, in two volumes, a treatise on the *ḥaqā'iq*, divided into seven *sūras*. Rare, the author of the F. had not seen it.

(118) *Tanbīhu'l-hādī wa'l-mustahdī*, a work on ethics and pious life, divided into 28 *bābs* and 196 *faṣls*. Extracts in *Azhār*, iv. (119) *Ma'aṣimu'l-hudā*, a refutation of al-Jāḥiẓ, dealing with his criticism of the sayings of 'Alī. (120) *al-Iṣāba fī tafḍīl 'Alī 'alā's-ṣaḥāba*. Only a small portion of this work is preserved. (121) *al-Aqwālu'dh-dhahabiyya*, a defence of Abū Ḥatim ar-Rāzī against the attacks of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā ar-Rāzī, the famous philosopher, in his work *at-Ṭibbu'n-nafsānī* (cf. Brock., i, 235).¹ (122) *Faṣlu'l-khiṭāb wa ibānatu'l-ḥaqq al-mutajallī 'anī'l-irtiyāb*, doubtful. (123) *al-Maḥṣūl*, probably wrongly ascribed by F. to this author, cf. No. 39. (124) *al-Waḍiyya*, also called *Ma'ālimu'd-dīn*, divided into two *maqālas*: the first on *'ibādat*, in 17 *faṣls*,

¹ Beg. الحمد لله رب الانوار و الظلم و جا عل اللوح محلاً للبركات و فيض . . . القلم . . . اما بعد، فان النفس باتباعها احكام هواها عليه الخ

giving a complete account of the 'aqā'id, representing al-'ibādātul-'ilmīyya; the second maqāla, on al-'ibādātul-'amalīyya, gives in 8 fasls an account of forms of worship.¹

(125) The so-called "13 risālas", a collection of short treatises, of which only 11 in reality are by this author. The first of them is: *ad-Durriyya fī ma'nā't-tawḥīd*²; (126) *Risālatu'n-naẓm* (the 2nd), on the order of the Universe³; (127) *ar-Raḍīyya* (the 3rd), a continuation of the preceding treatise, on the nature of the physical world⁴; (128) *al-Muḍḍī'a fī'l-amr wa'l-Āmir wa'l-ma'mūr* (the 4th), on the nature of the Creator's initial act of bringing the Universe into existence⁵; (129) *R. al-Lāzima fī ṣawm shahr Ramadān* (the 5th)⁶; (130) *ar-Rawḍa fī'l-azal*, etc. (the 6th), quoted also in *Azhār*, vii⁷; (131) *R. az-Zāhira* (the 7th), a refutation of the ideas in a treatise wrongly ascribed to the authorship of Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijzī (cf. ix, above), in six replies and six

قال الشيخ الاجل حميد الدين عماد المؤمنين الحجة بالعراقيين، الحمد لله . . . ذى الآيات الباهرات و خالق ارفع السموات . . . اما بعد، ايها الاخ ثبتك الله و ايانا على طاعته . . . فقد وصل كتابك تذكر فيه انك لم تجد من كتب المشائخ ما يكون اول متعلم للمستجيبين الخ.

الحمد لله الذى عز عن يكون له مثال . . . اما بعد، فان أبناء . . . الدعوة الهادية بسط الله انوارها لما عمتهم المحبة بامسال السماء عن القطر الخ.

الحمد لله رب الوحدة والاحاد و خالق الفردانية و الافراد . . . Beg. . . اما بعد، فقد وصل كتابك جعلك الله و ايانا ممن تعهم شفاعته و له الخ.

الحمد لله رب السماء و ما بناها و خالق الارض . . . اما بعد، فقد . . . ذكرنا فيما تقدم من رسائلنا الخ.

الحمد لله رب العرش والكرسى و مالك الملك . . . اما بعد، فانا . . . قد بيننا فى الرسالة الدرية ما حملنا على مثل هذه الرسالة الخ.

الحمد لله الذى بنعمته تتم الصالحات . . . اما بعد، ايها الاخ فانك . . . كتبت تذكر ان اهل الفرقة و الاختلاف الخ.

الحمد لله رب الابعاد والاقدار و خالق الانسان . . . اما بعد، فانا قد . . . بيننا فى الرسالة الدرية ما دعانا الى عمل مثل هذه الرسائل الخ.

faṣls, proving that the work is not by as-Sijzī¹; (132) *R. al-Ḥāwīya fī'l-layl wa'n-nahār* (the 8th), on the *ta'wīl*, composed in 399/1009, and sent to Jīruft, in the province of Kirman, to his lieutenant, as stated in the heading²; (133) *Mabāsīmu'l-mubāsharāt* (the 9th), on Imamat in general, and on the Imamat of al-Ḥākim in particular, in 14 *faṣls*³; (134) *R. al-Wā'iz*, or *al-Wā'iza* (the 10th), refuting Ḥasan al-Farghānī, who fell into the extremist (*ghuluw*) heresy, and turned away from the *da'wat* (as stated in the '*Uyūn*', vi). The author writes in a remarkably mild and moderate style, apparently not yet having lost the hope of bringing the erring eminent member of the community to the orthodox views. It is not clear what were the points of this heresy, but apparently it was akin to that of the Druzes. Completed in Jum. ii, 408/Nov., 1017⁴; (135) *al-Kāfiya fī'r-radd 'alā'l-Hārūnī al-Ḥasanī* (the 11th), composed in Cairo, and sent to the author's lieutenant in Kirman, 'Abdu'l-Mālik b. Muḥammad al-Māzinī, in reply to the latter's questions concerning the controversy raised by the Zaydite Imam, Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad bi'l-lah Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī al-Hārūnī (born in 333/944, d. 411/1020), cf. Brock., i, 186; he refuted the claims of al-Ḥākim to the Imamat. Several *faṣls* are added on the refutation of

¹ Beg. الحمد لله رب الخنس و خالق الجوار الكنس . . . اما بعد، فقد الخ
وصل كتابك ايها الاخ الجليل الخ

² Beg. الحمد لله رب الجواهر و الاعراض و مالك الكل . . . اما بعد، الخ
ايها الاخ احسن الله رعايتك و ارشدك الى الصواب الخ

³ Beg. الحمد لله رب الارباب و مالك يوم الحساب الذى جعل السماء سقفا . . . اما بعد، فاني لما وردت الحضرة النبوية مهاجرا و للسدة العلوية زائراً الخ

⁴ Beg. الحمد لله الذى بنعته تتم الصالحات . . . اما بعد، فقد كانت رقعتك وصلت اوضح الله لك منار الهدى الخ

Zaydite principles in general. Quoted in *Azhār*, vii¹; (136) *K. al-Khazā'in*, or *Khazā'inu'l-adhillat* (the 13th), by some authorities, as '*Uyūn*, vi, ascribed to this author, and in some MSS.—to Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijzī (cf. No. 37).²

(137) *Kitābu'r-riyād*, or *al-Iṣlāḥ bayna'sh-shaykhayn*, a treatise on reconciliation of the views expressed in *K. al-Iṣlāḥ*, by Abū Ḥatīm ar-Rāzī (see above, No. 20a), and in the *K. an-Nuṣrat* by as-Sijzī (see No. 32), in *K. al-Maḥṣūl*, etc. It is divided into 10 *bābs*, subdivided into 157 *faṣls*. The first *bāb* is on *nafs*; 2. *nafs wa hayūlā*; 6. *ḥarakat wa hayūlā*; 7. *aqsāmu'l-'ālam*; 8. *qaḍā wa qadar*; 9. *shar'at Ādam wa Nūḥ*; 10. *tawḥīd wa'l-Mubdī' al-awwal*.

Works which are lost: (138) *R. al-Ma'ād*, not seen by F. Works mentioned in the '*Uyūn*, vi ("not accessible to us in the Yaman"): (139) **Risālatu'l-fihrist*; (140) *R. al-Maqādir wa'l-ḥadā'iq* (perhaps these are two separate works, *R. al-Maqādir* and *al-Ḥadā'iq* ?); (141) **at-Tawḥīd fī'l-ma'ād* (sic, the same as No. 138 ?); (142) **Tājū'l-'uqūl*; (143) **Maydāmu'l-'aql*; (144) **K. an-Nafdh wa'l-īlām*; (145) **Iklīlu'n-nafs*; (146) **K. al-Maqāyis* (there is added before it: *wa tāju-hā*, and it is not clear whether this book is the *tāj* of all the works mentioned here, or only constitutes the *tāj* of the one immediately preceding it, i.e. No. 145); (147) **al-Majālisu'l-Baghḍādiyya wa'l-Baṣriyya*; these two apparently were appended to the *Ma'āsimu'l-hudā* and *al-Iṣāba*, see above, Nos. 119 and 120. Sayyid-nā Idrīs states in the '*Uyūn*, in giving this list, that there were altogether twenty-nine works by Ḥamīdu'd-dīn; if we exclude from the present list No. 123 as very doubtful, and No. 141 as apparently the same as No. 138, the number will be exactly twenty-nine.

¹ Beg. الحمد لله المبدئ المعيد الفاعل لما يريد . . . اما بعد، فان كتابك الخ اعانك الله واياتنا على طاعته الخ.

² Beg. الحمد لله الذى ايس الايسات لامن مادة كان فى تائيسه و ابدع فيها . . . وبعد، فقد وسعنا كتابنا هذا بخزائن الادله لان الخ.

xxiv. Abū'l-Fawāris Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb, a *dā'ī* in Syria in the reign of al-Ḥākim.

(148) **ar-Risāla fī'l-Imāmat*, a treatise in sixteen questions and answers, dealing with the subject of Imamāt. Included in MT., ii.

xxv. Ḥusayn b. 'Āmir, flourished under al-Ḥākim.

(149) *Dīwān*. (150) *al-Urjūza*, a versified treatise on the elements of religion.

xxvi. Zayd b. Muḥammad, flourished under al-Ḥākim.

(151) *al-Maknūna*, divided into two *juz'*: 1. the *ta'wīl* of different verses of the Coran, explanation why the earth cannot be without the Imam even for a moment; the Iblises of every Nātiq, and their number in the Coran; 'Alī's replies to thirty-eight questions; 2. the *ta'wīl* of the prescriptions of the religion; the mystical meaning of the limbs of human body; the *qiyās* of the *ṣaḥāba* about the matters which are not mentioned in the Coran; *athar rūḥ*; *laylatu'l-Qadar*; *nafs*; *rūḥu'l-Imām*; *Rūḥu'l-Quds*; *fardāniyyat*; explanations of several verses of the Coran.

xxvii. Abū 'Abdi'l-lah Muḥammad b. Salāma b. Ja'far b. 'Alī b. Ḥakmūn al-Quḍā'i, d. in Dh.Q., 454/Nov., 1062, cf. Brock., i, 343. Generally regarded as a Shāfi'ite *qāḍī* under az-Zāhir and al-Mustanshir. Brock., loc. cit., mentions six of his works. Those which are used by the Ismailis are:

(152) *K. ash-Shihābu'n-Nabawī*, a well-known work on tradition, also called *Shihābu'l-akhbār fī'l-ḥikam*, also mentioned in Brock. (153) *Dastūr ma'ālimi'l-ḥikam wa ma'thūr makārimi'sh-shi'am*, divided into nine *bābs*.

xxviii. Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyid fī'd-dīn Abū Naṣr Hibatu'l-lah b. al-Ḥusayn (or Mūsā) b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad ash-Shirāzī as-Salmānī, the *Bāb*, i.e. chief *ḥujjat*, of al-Mustanshir bi'l-lah. He arrived in Cairo in the same year as Naṣiri Khusraw, i.e. 439/1047, and died there in 470/1077. He was a prolific

author, in Arabic and Persian, and his works are still amongst the most popular with the Ismailis. Cf. also H. Hamdani's paper "The History of the Ismaili Da'wat and its Literature during the Last Phase of the Fatimide Empire", *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 126-136, where a brief note on the author is given.

(154) *Majālis*, the most famous work by the author, containing 800 discourses, arranged in eight volumes, 100 in each, containing little of esoteric doctrine. In their present form they have been edited by Hātim b. Ibrāhīm (cf. further on, xliv), who also has summed up the contents according to the subjects, and arranged them in eighteen *bābs*, under the title *al-Mu'ayyidiyya*, see for details No. 206 further on. Extracts are often given in different works, as e.g. the *Munāzarāt* between the author and the famous poet, Abū'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, which are included in the thirteenth *bāb* of *al-Mu'ayyidiyya* and the third volume of *Azhār*.

(155) *al-Majālisu'l-Mustanṣiriyya*, 35 *majlis*, giving the summary of the author's impressions of the assemblies of al-Mustanṣir. (156) *Dīwān*, in praise of the Fatimides; at the end several poems are given which are attributed to different Imams themselves, as al-Mustanṣir, al-Ḥākim, az-Zāhir, etc.¹ (156a) *Sīrat Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyid fī d-dīn*, his autobiography, written for the Būyide ruler of Fars, 'Imādu'd-dawla Abū Kalinjār (415-440/1024-1048), describing his own career, and the persecutions of the Shi'ites in Southern Persia. It is composed in florid language, and is filled with poetical quotations. (157) *Sharḥu'l-ma'ād*, on resurrection of man in flesh. (158) *al-Īdāh wa't-taṣṣir fī faḍl yawmi'l-Ghaḍir*, in two *bābs*, on *walāyat* in general, and on the tradition about the event itself.

(159) *al-Ibtidā' wa'l-intihā'*, on *ibdā'*, 'aql, nafs, *al-Qā'im wa mā yakūn min-hu wa mā yantahī ilay-hi ḥālu-hu*, *wa dhikr ahl dawri-hi*, on prophets, of whom he is to be the seventh,

¹ Beg. 'حمدا لرب قاهر السلطان' 'فرد ملیک باهر البرهان'
 'اتقن کل صنعة و احکما' 'من ذایر دما به قد حکما'

on *ḥujjatu'l-Qā'im*, angels (*al-malā'ika*) *bi'l-quwwat wa bi'l-fī'l*, and on *ma'ād*, i.e. *rujū' u' n-nafs ilā mā min-hu bada'at*.

(160) *Jāmi'u'l-ḥaqā'iq fī tahrīmi'l-luḥūm wa'l-albān*, apparently an extract from the *Majālis*. (161) *al-Iskandariyya*, also called *Dhātu'd-dawḥat*, a *qaṣīda*. (162) **Ta'wīlu'l-arwāḥ*. (163) **Nahju'l-'ibādat* (?). (164) *al-Mas'ala wa'l-jawāb* (sometimes attributed to 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayhī), a work on religious miscellanies, such as the *ta'wīl*, *adwār*, the names of the *Nātiqs* and their *ḥujjats*; the names of the *ḥujjats* of *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*, i.e. probably al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lah.

The only known Persian work of the author, (165) **Asāsu't-ta'wīl*, i.e. a translation of the work by Qāḍi Nu'mān, see No. 71. In the copies which are accessible the language, though bearing traces of archaic usages, does not show any peculiar local features.¹

xxix. Sayyid-nā al-Mukarram b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayhī, d. ca. 477/1084.

(166) *Ḥadāthatu'l-arwāḥ* (?). F.—not seen.

xxx. Shahriyār b. al-Ḥasan, a *dā'ī* in Fars and Kirman during al-Mustanṣir's time (one of his treatises contains a reference to him as the Imam of his time). One of his works is a reply to "*as-Sultān al-ajall as-sayyid*" Abū'l-Mundhir 'Āmir b. Sulaymān b. 'Abdī'l-lah b. Ayyūb az-Zawwājī, a petty local ruler of the Yaman, who died, according to the *'Uyūn*, vii, in 492/1099.

(167) *R. fī Ma'nā qawli'l-lah "in-nā fataḥnā la-ka fathan mubīnan"*, forming a reply to the question of 'Āmir, mentioned above, and giving the *ta'wīl* of this verse. (168) *R. fī Radd*

¹ Beg. این کتابی است ترجمه کردش (sic) بنده خداوند زمان فرمان گذار
و سخن گوی اندر سرای خویش بدستوری بار خدای سخن کوپان و . . .
آن راه جوپان لامام المستنصر با لله امیر المؤمنین صلوات الله علیه و علی
ابائه الطاهرين و ابنائه الاکرمين، واز زبان تازی این کتاب را بیارسی زبان
گندارش کرد تا مؤمنان الخ.

man yunkiru'l-ālam ar-rūḥānī, which is usually included, as the twelfth item, in the collection of the "13 *risālas*" by Ḥamidu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī, see No. 125. (169) *Qaṣīda*, quoted in *an-Nukhab*, by Sayyid-nā Sulaymān b. Ḥasan, see No. 519.

xxxi. Nāṣiri Khusraw. A full account of his works is given in the section dealing with the literature of the Eastern Ismailis, though in letter and spirit his genuine works belong to the literature of the *da'wat* under al-Mustanṣir.

xxxii. Badru'l-Jamālī, an Armenian slave, and later on a high official under al-Mustanṣir, appointed as chief *dā'ī* in 466/1073, and died in 488/1095.

(170) *al-Majālisu'l-Mustanṣiriyya*, different from No. 155.

xxxiii. Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, a poet of al-Mustanṣir's time.

(171) *Dīwān*, in praise of this prince and other Fatimides.

xxxiv. Sayyid-nā Yaḥyā b. Mālīk, d. the 28th Jum. ii, 520/21-7-1126.

(172) *Faṣl fī bayānī'l-arḍ wa mā 'alay-hā min ma'dīn*, etc.

xxxv. al-Āmir bi-aḥkāmi'l-lah, Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr b. al-Musta'li, the tenth Fatimide khalif (495-524/1101-1131).

(173) *al-Āmiriyya*, or *al-Hidāyatū'l-Āmiriyya*, or *al-Hidāyat li-Mawlā-nā al-Āmir fī tathbūt Imāmat Mawlā-nā al-Musta'li wa'r-radd 'alā'n-Nizāriyya*, a short treatise trying to prove the right of al-Musta'li to be regarded as a true heir of Imamat, and to refute Nizār's claims; at the end there is added a correspondence which arose on this occasion between the khalif and some *dā'īs*, sometimes given a separate title *Īqā' ṣawā'iqi'l-irghām*.¹

(174) *Iktīlā*, quoted in the *Mafātīḥu'l-kunūz* (see No. 204).

¹ الحمد لله الذى جعلنا للمعتق اماماً و اقامنا للهدى اعلاماً . . . اما . . . بعد، يا ايها الذين امنوا ان تطيعوا فريقاً من الذين اوتوا الكتاب يردوكم بعد ايمانكم الخ.

xxxvi. Sayyid-nā Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Yazīd, who flourished during al-Āmir's time.

(175) *K. al-Maṭbakh (fī'l-mabda' wa'l-ma'ād)*, included in *MT.* and *Azhār*, iii. (176) *Ḍiyā'u'l-'uqūl*, a well-known work on *ḥaqā'iq*. (177) *Ash'ār fī ma'rifati'n-nafs*.

xxxvii. Abū'l-Barakāt b. Bishr al-Ḥalabī, lived in the time of al-Āmir.

(178) *al-Majālis*, sixty discourses on ethical and religious matters. Cf. *Mass.* 333.

xxxviii. An author who flourished apparently in the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century.

(179) *Iḥyā' marāsini'd-dīn*, a treatise on the defence of the rights of aṭ-Ṭayyib, the son of al-Āmir, to Imamāt and refutation of the claims of al-Ḥāfiẓ, who is regarded as a usurper. *Fī-hā fawā'id wa asrār fī bābi'l-istīdā' wa'l-istiqrār wa dhikru'l-istiṭār*.

xxxix. Sayyid-nā al-Khaṭṭāb b. Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn) b. Abī'l-Ḥaffāẓ al-Hamdānī, a *dā'ī* of the Yaman, d. in Ṣafar, 533/Oct., 1138.

(180) *Kitābu'n-nafs*, the well-known work on *ḥaqā'iq*, divided into three *bābs*: 1. *ma'rifatu'n-nafs*; 2. *zuḥūru'n-nafs bi'l-mawḍi'* and *hal hiya'l-mawḍi'*; 3. *wujūdu'n-nafs bi'l-kamālī'th-thānī*.

(181) *Munīratu'l-baṣā'ir*, in ten *bābs*: 1. *tawḥīd*; 2. *Imāmat, wa mana'l-mustaḥiqq la-hā wa mushār ilay-hi bi-hā*; 3. *Nātiq*; 4. *Asāsīyyat wa waṣīyyat*; 5. *naql wa ma'ād*; 6. *istiḥāla*; 7. *thawāb wa 'iqāb*; 8. *'adl*; 9. *hubūṭ ilā dārī'l-'amal*; 10. *ṣu'ūd wa 'rtiqā'*.

(182) *an-Na'im* (only a half is preserved) on *ta'yīd, nafs*, organic and inorganic world, etc. (183) *R. fī bayān i'jāzi'l-Qur'ān*, included in *MT.*, ii. (184) **Ghāyatu'l-marwātīd*. (185) *Dīwān*, composed of twenty-five poems on *tawḥīd*.¹ (186) *al-Mīmīyya*, a *qaṣīda* on virtues of 'Alī.

¹ Beg. يا من اسبى بالفاظ معتزفا ان العاني فيها عنه تقصير

xi. Sayyid-nā Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā, the first *dā'ī*-*mutlaq* of the period of *satr*, residing in the Yaman, d. the 10th Muharram 546/29-4-1151.

(187) *Kitābu'n-nafs*, also a well-known work on the *ḥaqā'iq*, on *ma'rifat jism wa nafs*, and on some *fawā'id*, *lā yumkin kitābatu-hā* (?). (188) *R. ad-Darj fī ma'rifati'l-marwjudāt*, included in *MT.*, i.

xli. Sayyid-nā Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī, the second *dā'ī*, d. in Ṣan'ā on the 16th (or 7th) Sha'bān, 557/31 (22)-7-1162.

(189) *K. al-Ibtidā' wa'l-intihā'*.¹ (190) *Kanzu'l-walad*, one of the most secret Ismaili works, *kutubu'l-kibār*, written in a very difficult style, full of technical terms taken from philosophy, theology, alchemy, etc. Copies are fairly common, but in F.—not seen. Divided into fourteen *qawls*: 1. *at-tawḥīd min ḡayr tashbīḥ wa lā ta'ṭīl*; 2. *q. 'alā'l-ibdā' al-ladhī huwa'l-mubdī'u'l-arwāl*; 3. *q. 'alā'l-munba'ithīn 'anī'l-mubdī'i'l-arwāl*; 4. *q. 'alā'l-munba'ithi'l-arwāl al-qā'im bi'l-fi'l, wa mā dhālika'l-fi'l*; 5. *q. 'alā'l-munba'ithi'th-thānī al-qā'im bi'l-quwwat, wa mā sabab dhālika*; 6. *q. 'alā'l-hayūlā wa's-ṣūrat wa mā humā fī dhāti-himā wa sabab takaththufi-himā wa 'mtizāji-himā*; 7. *q. 'alā' zuhūri'l-mawālīdī'th-thalātha, al-ma'dīn wa'n-nabāt wa'l-ḥayawān*; 8. *q. 'alā' zuhūri'sh-shakhṣi'l-basharī*; 9. *q. 'alā' zuhūri'sh-shakhṣi'l-fādīl min taḥt khaṭṭi'l-irtidāl*; 10. *q. 'alā'l-irtiqā' wa's-ṣu'ūd ilā dārī'l-ma'ād*; 11. *q. 'alā' ma'rifati'l-ḥudūdī'l-ukwīyya wa's-sufīyya*; 12. *q. 'alā'th-thawāb wa'l-irtiqā' fī'd-darjat ilā'l-Jannati'd-dāniya wa'l-āliya*; 13. *q. 'alā' ttiṣāli'l-mustafīd bi'l-mufīd wa'rtiqā'i-hi ilay-hi wa'ttiṣāli-hi bi-hi*; 14. *q. 'alā'l-adhāb bi-ḥaqqiqati-hi wa'kayfiyyati-hi*.

(191) *ar-R. ash-Sharīfa fī ma'ānī'l-laṭīfa* (cf. No. 252).

¹ Beg. . . . الحمد لله الذى ابدع مبدعا وجعله لسره مودعا واحد الاحاد . . . اعلم ايها الاخ الكريم . . . اما بعد، ايها الاخ الكريم . . . The work is about 40 pages, small size, long, and consists of a larger and of several smaller papers, each beginning with a *Basmalla*.

xlii. Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd, the cousin of the fifth *dā'ī*, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, flourished apparently in the closing years of the sixth/twelfth century, in the Yaman.

(192) *R. al-Basmala*, included in *MT.*, ii. (193) *R. f'r'l-baḥth 'alā'l-firqati'n-Nizāriyya*, a short *risāla*, included in the *MT.*, ii, extremely vague, and giving no facts, quite worthless from the historical point of view. (194) *Tuḥfatu't-ṭālib wa umniyyatu'l-bāḥithi'r-rāghib*, on the *mabda' wa ma'ād*, included in the first volume *MT.* Cf. No. 249. Also called *R. aḍ-Ḍal'* ?

xliii. Sayyid-nā Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥārithī, d. the 7th Shawwāl, 584/29 Nov., 1188.

(195) *Majmū'u't-tarbiyat*, the famous anthology or chrestomathy of short treatises and extracts, systematically arranged so as to be a help to a student. Many of these short treatises are contributed by the compiler himself. But as there are many extracts and short treatises by authors whose names are not given, it is probable that many of these are wrongly ascribed to the compiler. The work is divided into two volumes. The *first* volume begins with questions of prayer, *imān*, etc., their *ta'wīl* and comments. Often the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām* is cited. After this comes the question of Imāmat; a letter is given which was sent by al-Āmir to the Yaman concerning the birth of his son aṭ-Ṭayyib. After this there are extracts dealing with philosophy, such subjects as *nafs*, *jism*, *an-nufūsu'l-arba'a*, etc. All independent articles, even if small, are given under the names of their respective authors in this list, with a reference to the *MT.* The *second* volume contains more of such articles, and deals with philosophy, controversy, ethics, etc. There are probably only a few articles by the compiler himself.

(196) *ar-Risāla*, on the *ḥaqā'iq*, divided into fourteen *bābs*: 1. *al-a'mālu'sh-shar'iyya*; 2. *Jahannam*, *Barzakh*, etc.; 3. *ikhtilāf 'ilāl'l-lughāt*; 4. *'ālam al-kabīr*; 5. *ikhtilāf*

ʿitiqādāt; 6. *hayūlā*; 7. *ʿālam kabīr* (?); 8. *mūsīqī*; 9. *insān huwaʿl-ʿālamuʿl-kabīr*; 10. *al-qawmuʿn-nafsāniyya*; 11. *Ādam waʿsh-shajarat wa Iblīs*; 12. *ʿadad wa handasa*; 13. *masqatuʿn-nuṭfa*; *naṣṣuʿsh-shams*; 14. *aṭṭāk*.

(197) *Lumaʿuʿl-anwār*, on the *ithbātuʿl-faḍl liʿdh-dhurriyyatiʿl-Ismaʿīliyya*. (198) *al-Anwāruʿl-laṭīfa*, F.—not seen. (199) **al-Mūdiḥat liʿr-rashād*, doubtful. (200) *al-Ḥātimīyya fīʿr-radd ʿalā baʿdiʿl-māriqīn*, divided into twelve *faṣls*. (201) *Ḥadāʾiquʿl-albāb*, divided into twenty-eight *masʿalas*: 1–4 on *tawḥīd*, purpose of creation, etc.; 5–8 on different forms of *nafs*; 9. *risālat*; 10. *faqruʿl-ulamāʾ wa dhillatu-hum*; 11. *al-Qāʾim*, *hal jismu-hu maḥsūs am lā*; 12–16. *tawḥīd* and ethical matters; 17. *al-ʿibādātayn*, *al-ʿilmīyya waʿl-ʿamalīyya*; 18–22. Paradise, Hell, purpose of creation, wine-drinking, etc.; 23. whether the Imam governs the *falak*, or the *falak* governs the fate of the Imam; 24–6. ablutions; poetry; *ḥudūd*; 27. who is greater, Jesus or Muhammad? 28. *ibdāʿ*.

xliv. Sayyid-nā Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abīʿl-Masʿūd b. Yaʿqūb al-Ḥamidī, the third *dāʿī* in the Yaman, d. the 16th Muḥarram, 596/7–xi–1199.

(202) *Tanbīhuʿl-ghāfilīn*, the well-known work on ethics, based on the *Rasāʾil* of the Ikhwānuʿṣ-ṣafā, with extracts from the *Majālis* of al-ʿAzīz biʿl-lah.¹ (203) *al-Mafākhīr waʿl-maʾāthīr*, on the virtues of ʿAlī, etc. (204) *Mafātīḥuʿl-kunūz*, on the question whether al-Mahdī really was a descendant of Imām Ḥusayn. (205) **ash-Shumūsūʿz-zāhira*, another great and most secret compendium of the esoteric philosophy, in two volumes. Very rare. Cf. *Azhār*, i, the list.

(206) *Jāmiʿuʿl-ḥaqāʾiq*, also called *al-Muʿayyidiyya*, being a classified and systematic summary of the contents of the *Majālis* of Sayyid-nā al-Muʿayyid, see above, No. 154. The work is divided into eighteen *bābs*, and is in two volumes

¹ Beg. الحمد لله مؤيد الحق بآباب العلوم المظهر على السنتهم . . . اما . . . بعد. ايها الاخ الكريم الخ

(bābs 1-8 and 9-18): 1. *tawhīd*; 2. *mabda'*; 3. *Rasūl, Waṣī*, etc.; 4. ?; 5. 'Alī; 6. Imāms; 7. *ḥudūd*; 8. *māddat, ta'yīd, waḥy*, etc.; 9. ?; 10. *akhḍhu'l-'ahd*; *wujūbu't-ta'wīl*; 11. *radd 'alā'l-ghulāt wa ahli't-tanāsukh*; 12. *radd 'alā'l-falāsifa wa ahli't-ta'īl*; 13. *Radd 'alā'l-Miṣrī wa'th-Thughūrī wa'l-Mu'taziliyya wa Yahūd*; 14. the enemies of 'Alī, Iblīs, etc.; 15. sermons on moral matters; 16. *Qā'imū'l-qiyāmat*; 17. *ma'ād* and retribution; 18. *ahlu'l-'adhāb*.

(207) *Tuḥfatu'l-qulūb wa farjatu'l-makrūb*, an epistle to brethren (quoted in *Azhār*, ii). (208) *Tuḥfatu'l-qulūb fī tartībū'l-ḥudāt wa'd-du'āt fī jazīrati'l-Yamaniyya*, from the time of al-Mustansir to the author's own time; also quoted in *Azhār*, ii; contains valuable dates. (209) *Mafātīḥu'n-ni'mat*, miscellanies of religious and philosophical contents. (210) *at-Tadhkirat*, another collection of religious miscellanies on the usual subjects. (211) *an-Naqd 'alā ahli'l-makhāṭ fī mā 'rtakab minā'l-fisq wa'l-khabāṭ*, on various classes of sinners. (212) *al-Majlisu'l-azhar fī faḍl Ṣāḥibi'l-Kawthar wa dhikru'l-'idī'l-akbar fī yawmi'n-naṣṣi'l-ashhar*, on the 'id of the Ghadīr Khum. (213) *al-Iḥsān fī khalqī'l-insān*, a comparatively small work on religious life and ethics, of about 75 pages, ordinary octavo, divided into five *faṣls*: 1. *iḥsān fī khalqī'l-insān*; 2. *ḥayātu-hu'l-juz'iyya*; 3. *mawtu-hu'l-juz'ī*; 4. *mawtu-hu'l-kullī*; 5. *ḥayātu-hu'l-kulliyya*. Many poetical quotations.¹ (214) **al-Masālik*. (215) *al-Majālis*, smaller collection, of thirteen discourses. (216) *al-Majālis*, the larger collection, originally of seventy-seven discourses, of which now only fifty-two are preserved.

(217) *Zahr badhrī'l-ḥaqā'iq*, an important work, divided into eighteen *mas'alas*: 1. *mabda'*, *ḥayūlā*, *ṣūrat*; 2. *aflāk*; 3. *kurratu'n-nār*; 4. *nātiq*, *waṣī*, *imām*; 5. *ḥayāt*; 6. *dhanb Ādam*; 7. *ibtidā' wa'l-intihā'*; 8. *tajarrud minā'l-jism wa ḥashr*; 9. *al-Jannat wa'n-Nār*; 10. *ibtidā' wa ma'ād*; 11.

¹ بحمد لله المتعالى عن الحمد و الرسم المنتزه عما يخطر في العقل و . . . الوهم . . . اما بعد، ايها العبد الصالح جعلك الله طالباً للعلم الخ

kayf lā'a'l-jism; 12. *ma'ādu'l-mu'min*; 13. *sharr*; 14. *ba'th*; *nushūr*; 15. *aṭ-ṭarīq*; 16. *maṭar*; 17. *'aqlu'l-ḥudūd*; 18. *hayūlā wa'r-rūḥāniyya*.

(217a) **Maṣābīḥu'l-ḥaqā'iqi'l-hādiya ilā awḍaḥi't-ṭarā'iq*, perhaps the same as 206.

xlv. Abū Tamām, a *dā'ī* who flourished about the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century.

(218) *Kitābu'sh-shajarat*, a versified treatise on elements of the religion (also called *al-Urjūza*?).

xlvi. Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm, the son of the third *dā'ī* (xlv), and himself the fourth *dā'ī*, d. the 25th Dh.Q. 605/31-v-1209.

(219) *Rawḍatu'l-ḥikam aṣ-ṣāfiya wa bustānu'l-'ulūmī'l-wāfiya*, a collection of seventeen *mas'alas*: 1. *ḥudūd*; 2. *a'immat*; 3. *bābu'l-ijrām*; 4. *al-Qā'im*; 5. *nufūs*, *wa mim mā lā yumkin kitābatu-hu*; 6. *mashūmāt* (heredity?); 7. *al-ḥurūfu'r-rūḥāniyya*; 8. *adwār*; 9. *waḥy*; 10. *al-ajal*; 11. *an-nuṭaqā' hum ajezā'u'n-nafsi'l-kulliyā*; 12. *faḍalāt*; 13. *ta'yīd*; 14. *la'allā'n-nās maǧbūrūn 'alā'l-ma'āṣī*; 15. *makān Rasūli'l-lah wa waṣiyyi-hi fi'l-maǧma'i'l-Qā'imī*; 16. *malā'ika*; 17. *Allah ākhā bayna'l-arwāḥ fi'l-aẓillat thumma askana-hum al-abdān ba'da dhālika*. The replies are usually attributed to Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq.

xlvii. Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid, the fifth *dā'ī*, d. the 27th Sha'bān, 612/21-xii-1215.

(220) *Dāmighu'l-bāṭil wa ḥatfu'l-munādīl*, a refutation of *al-Mustaẓhiri* by al-Ghazālī (the latter was edited and translated by I. Goldziher, see *Streitschrift des Gazali gegen die Batinija-Sekte*, 1916); it is divided into twelve *bābs*.

(221) *Diya'u'l-albāb al-muhtawī 'alā's-sā'il wa'l-jawāb*, divided into thirty-two *mas'alas*: 1. *tarwīd*; 2. again the difference between *K. al-Maḥṣūl* and *ar-Riyāḍ* by Ḥamidu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī, cf. No. 137; 3. *ma'nā'l-ibdā'*; 4. inconsistencies of some theories of creation in the *al-Ibtidā' wa'l-*

intihā', by al-Mu'ayyid (see No. 159); 5. *rutbatu'l-a'dādī't-tabī'iyya*; 6. *arwahu'l-af'āl al-ibdā'*, *wa fi'lu-hu wa maf'ūlu-hu huwa's-Sābiq*; 7. *azaliyyatu's-Sābiq wa azaliyyat mubda'i-hi*; 8. *as-Sābiq tammū'l-quwcat wa'l-fi'l, lā yahtāj ilā man dūna-hu wa inna Tāhiya-hu min qibali'dh-dhāt wa'l-jarchar tamm aydan, wa fi'lu's-Sābiq lā min ajl naf'i-hi wa dhāti-hi, bal 'alā wajhi't-tafḍīl wa'l-ihsān*; 9. *al-Mubdī' wa'l-mukhtari'*; 10. on the *arwār* of the *Sābiq* and *Tālī*, and on the hierarchy of their human hypostasies, such as the *Asās*, *Imām*, etc.; 11. what is *faḍl* descending upon the Universe; 12. *ma'rifatu'l-ibtidā' wa'l-ma'ād*; 13. Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyid on *ma'ād* in his book on this subject; 14. on *tabī'at*, on the *dawrs* of *kashf* and *satr*; 15. *hal yakūn farq Adam ṣāhib rutbat mina'l-malā'ikat lam yalzam-hum as-sujūd la-hu*, etc.; 16. *'am-mā dhakar Abū Tamām fī Kitābi'sh-shajarat* (No. 218) *anna Nūḥan kān arwāl man shara'a'sh-sharī'at*, etc.; 18. from the *Shajara*, by Abū Tamām, on the spirit of Adam and Jesus and Noah, after it left their bodies, *taṣawwar bi-ṣūrat ahli'l-Jannat dūn sā'iri'r-rusul*; 17. *bayān 'ibādat naw'i'l-bashar wa bayān 'ibādati'l-malā'ika*, etc.; 19. more questions from the *Shajara* by Abū Tamām, on postponement of the death of the Prophet, etc.; many other questions of similar nature, on occult matters, eschatology, Imamat, *ḥudūd*, etc., are touched on, chiefly constituting comments to *Kitābu'sh-Shajara*, by Abū Tamām, see above, No. 218.

(222) *al-Īdāḥ wa't-tabayīn fī kayfiyyat tasalsul wilādatayī'l-jism wa'd-dīn*, on *mabda'*, *ma'ād*, and *ithbāt Imāmat Mawlā-nā Sābi'i'l-Ashkhād* (i.e. aṭ-Ṭayyib). Cf. Griffini, 86, xiv; extracts in *Azhār*, vii.

(223) *Jalā'u'l-'uqūl*, divided into three *bābs*, subdivided altogether into twenty-eight *faṣls*: 1. *tawḥīd*; *khilqat jismāniyya*; 2. *khilqat nafsāniyya*; 3. *silsilatu'l-wulātī'd-dīniyya*; *thawāb*, *'iqāb*.

(224) *Mukhtaṣaru'l-uṣūl*, a comparatively short treatise, in four *bābs*: 1. *sharḥu'l-maqālāt . . . wa kayfiyyat inqisāmi-hā*,

'alā'l-ikhtiṣār jumalan dūna'l-furū' (in four faṣls); 2. *ar-radd 'alā'l-ḥashwiyya* (as the Ismailis call the Sunnites) (in seven faṣls); 3. *ar-radd 'alā aṣḥābi'r-ra'y* (the Mu'tazilites and the Zaydites), in eight faṣls; 4. *ar-radd 'alā mu'aṭṭilī, al-Falāsifa, al-Mulḥida, az-Zanādiqa*.¹ Very rarely the author gives the real name of the sect against which he is arguing, but usually he refers to it under general designations, which are often not easy to interpret. Extracts in *Azhār*, vii.

(225) *Mulḥiqatu'l-adhhān wa munabbihatu'l-wasnān*, on *ibtidā'*, and on miracles; probably one of the earliest works of the author, because included in *MT.*, i. (226) *Nizāmu'l-wujūd wa tartibu'l-hudūd*, on the names of the Ismaili functionaries in the Yaman at the author's time; extracts in *Azhār*, iii. (227) *Tuḥfatu'l-murtād wa ghuṣṣatu'l-addād*, refuting the claims of al-Ḥāfiẓ and his descendants on the throne of Egypt whom Ismailis do not recognize as their Imams, and a defence of the rights of aṭ-Ṭayyib; cf. also Griffini, 86, xv; at the end there is appended (228) *R. fī ma'nā'l-Ismī'l-A'zam* . . . (there follows the name in the characters used in magic). (229) *Lubābu'l-fawā'id wa ṣawfu'l-aqā'id fī 'ilmi'l-mabda' wa'l-ma'ād*. (230) *adh-Dhakhīra* (F.—not seen, though there are copies in Surat). The work is about 200 pages long; it is not divided into *bābs* or *faṣls*. It is very rare and secret; at the beginning there is said that none should read this book except by permission of the *dā'ī* of the province in which the intending reader lives, and to whom he is personally known. The work deals with *tawḥūd*, *ibdā'*, *Imāmat*, *Nubuwwat*, etc., and finally with *ma'ād*.² (231) *Majālisu'n-naṣḥ wa'l-bayān*, didactic discourses (at present only from the 101st to 140th preserved). (232) *Dīwān*, in praise of the Imams, *dā'īs*, and on the Imamat of aṭ-Ṭayyib.

¹ Beg. 'الحمد لله الذى حارت العقول الابداعيه فى كنه عظمته . . . اما بعد'.
فان ساعات الليل و النهار مراحل تطوى بها مسافات الاعمار الخ

² Beg. of the book: 'يحمد لله الذى خرس الالسن ان تناول هويته: بصفة وعجزت العقول ان تدرك كيفيته الخ

(233) *Lubbu'l-ma'ārif*, in seven *mas'alas*: 1. *al-Qā'im*, *sharī'at fī dawri-hi*; *rutbatu'n-nihāyat* (*awwala*, *thāniya*); 2. *hayūlā*, *ṣūrat*, and their origin from the first *'aql*, etc.; 3. *nafs* and *jism*, etc.; 4. on al-Mu'izz's aphorism about the earth and heaven being *fānī*; 5. on al-Mustanṣir's saying about al-Qā'im that he is the *Sābi'u'n-mutaqā'*, the Saviour and Assistant, etc.; 6. on the Imam and his *ḥudūd*, *fī ḥādihā'l-waqt*, i.e. obviously, the author's time; 7. explanation of a passage from the *Asās-u't-ta'wīl*, by Qādī Nu'mān (see No. 71), and from Kirmānī's *Rāḥatu'l-'aql* (see No. 117), *anna'n-mutaqā'* *ya'khudhūn 'anī'l-ḥudūd*, etc.

(234) *Tāju'l-'aqa'id*, a standard work on the Ismaili dogma, with very little esoteric matter in it, arranged in 100 *mas'alas*. It does not contain the name of the author, and F. seems to be somewhat doubtful about the authorship of 'Alī b. Muḥammad. He says also: *ḥādhihi'l-mu'taqadāti'l-latī yajib li-dākhil ilā ḥādihā'l-madhhab li-ḥifẓi-hā* ('*alā ad-dākhil . . . ḥifẓu-ha* ?).¹ (235) *al-Mufīda fī idāhī'l-qaṣīda*, an explanation of a poem by Avicenna. Doubtful. (236) *Mīzānu'l-ḥaqā'iq*. Doubtful. (237) **al-Idāh wa't-tafsīr fī ma'nā yawm Ghadīr*. (238) **Tāju'l-ḥaqā'iq wa ma'dīnu'l-farwā'id*.

xlvi. Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. Ḥanzala b. Abī Salīm al-Maḥfūzī al-Wādī'i, the sixth *dā'ī*, d. the 22nd Rab. i, 626/18-ii-1229.

(239) *Ḍiyā'u'l-ḥulūm wa miṣbāhu'l-'ulūm*, a treatise divided into four *bābs*: 1. *tawḥīd*; *ma'nā't-tanzīh*; *tajrīd*; 2. *mabda'*, in five *faṣls*; 3. *al-ma'ādu'l-maḥmūd*, in three *faṣls*; 4. *al-ma'ādu'l-madhmūm*.

(240) *Simṭu'l-ḥaqā'iq*, a standard work on the *ḥaqā'iq* for beginners, in the form of a *mathnawī* poem containing 663 *bayts*, most probably a versified version of the preceding work. It is not divided into numbered *bābs*, but into *qawls*: *tawḥīd*; *wujūd 'ālamī'l-ibdā'*; *wujūdū'l-ābā'ī'l-latī hiya 'ālamu'l-aflāk*;

¹ Beg. . . الحمد لله الذى كل بائد بحبته مقل العارفين وبصر بنور هدايته
اعلم ايها السيد ادام الله لك الهداية و سددك الى القيام بواجب الولاية الخ

*wujūd u'l-ummahātī'l-latī hiya'l-arkān; al-mazāj wa'l-mumtazij wa adwār u'l-kawākib as-sab'a; wujūd ahli'l-juththātī'l-ibdā'iyya wa šifat dawri-him dawri'l-kashf wa ahli-hi; wujūd dawri's-satr wa šifat ahli-hi; al-ma'ād al-mahmūd; wujūd u'n-nāsūt wa ittihādu-hu bi'l-lāhūt; al-ma'ādu'l-madhmun; šifatu'l-ba'ith wa'l-hisāb wa'l-khulūd fī th-thawāb wa'l-'iqāb.*¹ For a commentary see No. 451a.

xlix. Sayyid-nā Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, the 8th dā'i, d. the 22nd Šafar, 667/31-x-1268.

(241) *Aqīdatu'l-murawwihīn wa mūdīhat marātīb ahli'd-dīn*, explanation of the difficult verses of the Coran relating to the nature of God. (242) *al-Īdāh wa'l-bayān* (or *fī'l-bayān*) *fī'l-kashf* (or *fī'l-jawāb*) '*an masā'ili'l-imtihān*', divided into twenty-five *mas'alas*: *šifātu'l-lah; aḥsanu'l-khālīqīn; ḥurūf kun fa-yakūn; rubūbiyyat wa khilqat; jinn wa ins; tafāwutu'l-akhlāq; dhabhu'l-ḥayawānāt; khalq Iblīs; shajarat Ādam; Allah "istawā 'alā'l-arsh"; 11. ḥukmu'l-'ibādat; 12. al-ikhtilāf illā min raḥm Rabbi-ka; 73 firqas; 15. sharā'i'u'l-anbiyā; mawdū'āt shar'iyya; ash-shaqī man shaqiya fī baṭn ummi-hi; mawt; 19. Jannat wa'n-Nār; 20. ikhtiyāru'l-lah li'l-anbiyā; 21. explanation of the verses of the Coran, lxxxii, 10-12, inna 'alay-kum la-ḥāfiẓīn, etc.; 22. (Cor. xxi, 48) wa naḍa'u'l-mawāẓīn bi'l-qist, etc.; 23. amru'l-lah li-malā'ikati-hi bi-ta'dhībī'l-mu'adhdhabīn; 24. ḥāl man yakūn fī'l-Jannat; 25. al-ladhīn shāqū fa-fī'n-Nār.*² Extracts in *Azhār*, vii.

(243) *al-Īdāh wa't-tabṣīr fī jawāb mas'alati'l-Mawlā*. Also quoted in *Azhār*. (244) *at-Tis'ūniyya*, a *qaṣīda* on the rights of aṭ-Ṭayyib to Imamāt; given at the end of *Azhār*, ii. (245) *al-Wahīda fī tathbīt arkānī'l-aqīda*, in three *bābs*: *al-istitār wa taghallubu'l-bāṭil 'alā'l-ḥaqq; tawhīd wa mabda;*

¹ Beg. الحمد لله العلي السامي
عن صفة الكمال و التمام
اذ الكمال و التمام صنعته
سبحانه تقدست هوته

² Beg. الحمد لله نخرج من اطاعه باتباع ائمة دينه من الظلمات الى النور
اما بعد فان الله تعالى ما بعث انبياءه و رسله الى خلقه الا رحمة الخ

ḥaḡīqatu'l-ma'ād wa'th-thawāb. (246) *Māḥiyatu'z-zūr wa dāmighatu'l-kufūr*, refuting the heresy of the Mu'tazilī lord of Ḥiṣn Kajlān. (247) **al-Mabda' wa'l-ma'ād*.¹

i. Sayyid-nā 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, the 9th *dā'ir*, d. the 13th Dh.Q., 682/2-ii-1284.

(248) *al-Kāmila fī th-thalāthi'l-layālī'l-fāḍila*, in three *bābs*, on the three sacred nights of Rajab.² (249) *Tuḥfatu't-tālib wa umniyyatu'l-bāḥithi'r-rāḡhib* (?), on the *mabda'* and *ma'ād*, included in the *MT.*, i. Cf. above, No. 194.

ii. Sayyid-nā Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, the 11th *dā'ir*, d. the 10th Shawwāl, 728/18-viii-1328.

(250) *Tis'a wa tis'ūn mas'ala fī'l-ḥaḡā'iq*, on the usual subjects of the Ismaili philosophy. (251) **K. an-nafs* (?). (252) **R. ah-Sharīfa fī ma'āni'l-laṭīfa* (?), cf. No. 191.

iii. Sayyid-nā 'Abdu'l-lah Fakhru'd-dīn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, the 16th *dā'ir*, d. the 9th Ramaḍān, 809/17-ii-1407.

(253) *al-Munīra fī ma'rīfat ḥudūdī'l-jazīra*, on Imamat, *ḥudūd*, etc. Extract in *Azhār*, iii.

iiii. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, d. the 10th Ramaḍān, 823/18-ix-1420 (?). Very doubtful.

(254) **Qaṣīda fī'r-radd 'alā'z-Zaydiyya*.

liv. Sharafu'd-dīn (or Sharīfu'd-dīn) Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-Maḥfūzī, d. the 3rd Dh.H., 845/14-iv-1422.

¹ Beg. الحمد لله رب العالمين . . . اما بعد، اعلم ايها الاخ السعيد الموفق. الرشيد اثار الله بصيرتك الخ. The work is about 50 pages long, and is divided into short unnumbered *faṣls*, without special headings in the beginning; at the end there are even no headings *faṣl*, and new paragraphs begin with *wa lam*, etc., in red ink.

² Beg. الحمد لله شكرا على جزيل نعمائه وغائض آلائه . . . اعلم ايها الولد نور الله بالمعارف الحقيقية بصيرتك الخ.

(255) *al-Muḡiẓa min nawmi'l-ghaflat*, completed the 14th Dh.Ḥ., 840/19-vi-1437, in twelve *faṣls*, on fast and other religious observances. (256) *al-Idānat wa't-taṣrīḥ fī ma'nā's-salāt wa't-tasbīḥ*, in three *bābs*, explaining the esoteric meaning of prayer and other religious practices, "*mā fī'l-bāṭin min al-mā'ānī'l-ḥikmiyya*." (257) *Kitābu'l-wa'z wa't-taḥwīq wa'l-ḥidāyat ilā siwā't-ṭ-ṭarīq*, in six *bābs*, dealing with instructive discourses on the occasion of the events celebrated in each month.

IV. Sayyid-nā Idrīs 'Imādu'd-dīn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdī'l-lah b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, the 19th *dā'ī* (since 832/1428), d. the 19th Dh.Q., 872/10-vi-1468.

(258) *'Uyūnu'l-akḥbār wa funūnu'l-āthār fī dhikri'n-Nabī al-Muṣṭafā al-Mukhtār*, the well-known history of Ismailism. It is divided into seven *juz*'s, or volumes, which contain the information: 1. *faḍā'il ābā'i'n-Nabī*; *sīratu-hu*, ending with the celebration of the marriage of Fāṭima to 'Alī; 2. *sīrat 'Alī*; 3. *dhikr jihādi-hi li'l-qāsiṭīn wa'l-māriqīn*; 4. *dhikru'l-A'immat* (from Ḥasan to the eve of al-Mahdī's campaigns)¹; 5. *dhikr mā jā'a min al-bishārāt wa'l-ishārāt bi-zuhūri'l-Mahdī*; al-Qā'im; Jawdhar al-Ustād; Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī; al-Manṣūr; Qāḍī Nu'mān; 6. al-Mu'izz; Qāḍī Nu'mān (addit.); al-'Azīz; al-Ḥākim; Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī; az-Zāhir; the beginning of al-Mustansīr's reign; 7. the second half of al-Mustansīr's reign; al-Mu'ayyid ash-Shīrāzī; al-Musta'li and Nizār; al-Āmir and the end of the Fatimide Imams; events in the Yaman and first *dā'īs*. Though undoubtedly very interesting, the work on the whole is a sad disappointment to the student who expects to get an insight into the inner life of the Fatimide Ismaili circles, or to find out the truth about them. The author, in spite of his serious and simple tone, is extremely superficial—he gives no facts,

¹ In the autograph copy of the fourth volume of this work, preserved in Surat, it is stated in the colophon that it was completed the 22nd Rab. i, 842/12-ix-1438.

no dates, no reference to the sources of his information. The whole history of Ismailism and the Fatimides is dealt with only in so far as they are concerned with the affairs of the Yaman, the native country of the author. Everything connected with the Yaman is given disproportionate prominence, and really important matters are simply omitted. For instance, Persia, which was the centre of the civilized life of that period, is simply ignored. The author, indubitably a learned and well-read man, shows the mentality of a sectarian in an advanced stage of fossilization, when it becomes entirely concentrated on its internal life, turning away from the outside world. It is a great set-back as compared with the works of the earliest *da'wat* authors, who almost all were Persians, and who were much more generally educated men.¹

(259) *Nuzhatu'l-afkār wa rawḍatu'l-akhbār*, a history of the Ismaili community in the Yaman, in two volumes. The first deals with the period from the beginning of the *satr* to the 15th *dā'ir*; the second, from the 16th *dā'ir* to the author's time. It is a bulky work, but a great proportion of it is formed by endless poetical quotations, which, as usual, are bombast and contain no facts.²

(259a) **Rawḍatu'l-akhbār wa bahjatu'l-asmār*, another work on history. The title appears in a list of a private collection. It is very doubtful whether this is another work, or this title merely is a mistake for that of the preceding work.

(260) *Zahru'l-ma'ānī*, a compendium of the *ḥaqā'iq*, divided into 21 *bābs*: 1. *ithbātū'l-mubdī'ī'l-Haqq wa isnādū'l-marwjudāt ilā hurwviyyati-hi*; 2. *salbu'l-asmā' wa ṣ-ṣifāt 'an-hu*; 3.

¹ Beg. of the first vol. : الحمد لله رب العالمين خالق الناس اجمعين . . . اما . . . بعد، فان الله تعالى وجل كبريائه لما بعث انبيائه الخ

² The full form of the title is : نزهة الافكار و روضة الاخبار في ذكر من قام باليمن من الملوك الكبار و الدعاة الاخبار،

Beg. of the first vol. : تصريف احوال الحمد لله الذي جعل الدنيا غيرا و تصرف احوال . . . اما بعد، فانه لما نزل بين الناس الخ

mawāqī' asmā'i-hi'l-ḥusnā; 4. *ṣifat wujūd 'ālamī'l-ibdā'*; 5. *sabqu'l-Awwal min 'ālamī'l-ibdā' ilā't-tawḥīd wa mā 'khtaṣar bi-hi sabqu-hu minā'l-imdād bi-nūrī't-ta'yīd*; 6. *kaḥnu'l-ibdā'i'l-awwalī'l-a'lā*; 7. *dhikru'l-munba'ithi'l-mukammā 'an-hu bi'l-lawḥ*; 8. on *marātib 'ālamī'l-ibdā'*, and their precedence; 9. *'āshiru'r-rutab wa takhallufu-hu wa ibānātu-hu*, etc.; 10. *al-hayūlā wa'ṣ-ṣūrat wa mā wujūd 'an-hā minā'l-aflāk wa'l-ummahāt wa mā nuḍīd 'alā aḥsanī't-tartīb*, etc.; 11. on *al-mawālīd*; 12. *Ādamu'l-kullī al-awwal*, etc.; 13. on *al-anbiyā'*; 14. on Muḥammad; 15. 'Alī; 16. on Fāṭima, and on *kaḥnu'l-Imāmat raja'at ba'da'l-Ḥusayn mustaqirratan wa lā takhruj 'an 'aqibi'l-Ḥusayn*; 17. *al-A'immat*; 18. *al-Imāmat wa'l-Imām wa mā 'abar bi-hi min dhikri'n-nāsūt wa'l-lāḥūt fī'l-kalām*; 19. *al-ḥudūd wa man yuqīm awliyā'a'l-lah min-hum*, etc.; 20. *qiyāmu'l-Qā'im wa mā yakūn 'alā yaday-hi minā'th-thawāb wa'l-iqāb wa'ṣ-ṣu'ūd*, etc.; 21. *ma'ādu'l-aḍḍād*, etc.

(261) *al-Bayān li-mā wajab min ma'rifati'ṣ-ṣalāt fī niṣf shahr Rajab*, explaining the meaning of the memorable occasions, and of *ṣalāt Umm Dāwūd*, in three *bābs*. (262) *Idāḥi'l-i'lām fī kamāl 'iddati'ṣ-ṣiyām*. (263) *'Āsimat nufuṣi'l-muḥtadīn wa qāsimat zuḥūri'l-muḥtadīn*, in six *bābs*, refuting the heresy of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (sometimes this work is ascribed to the authorship of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd). (264) *Hidāyatū't-tālibīn wa iqāmatu'l-ḥujjat fī idāḥi'l-ḥaqqi'l-mubīn fī jawābi'l-māriqīn min ahli'l-Hind*, included in *Azhār*, vii. (265) *R. fī'r-radd 'alā 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm*. (266) *R. fī'r-radd 'alā'z-zindīq al-musammā bi'l-Jamal (?)*. (267) *Dīwān*, in praise of Imams and *ḥudūd*. (268) **Mudḥidatu'l-buḥtān wa mudīḥatu'l-ḥaqq*, mentioned in *Azhār*, ii, apparently dealing with the fast of Ramaḍān. (269) *Diyyā'u'l-baṣā'ir wa zubdatu's-sarā'ir*, in nine *mas'alas*: 1. *'aqīdatu'l-muwahḥidīn*; 2. *min Ta'wīlī'd-Da'ā'im*; 3. on the difference between the philosophers and the *sharī'at*; 4. *dhikr mawālī-nā fī jamī' awḍā'i-him*; 5. *wafāt Mawlā-nā Isma'il fī ḥayāt wālidi-hi*; 6. *fī'l-ḥudūd*, from the *Risāla* by Ḥatīm b. Ibrāhīm (xliv);

7. from the *Asrāru'n-nuṭaqā'* (see No. 43); 8. from *R. al-ma'ād*, by al-Mu'ayyid (see No. 157 ?); 9. replies to questions from several other works.

lvi. 'Abdu'l-lah b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn), d. in 882/1477 or in 886/1481 (?).

(270) *Dīwān*. (271) *Wasīlatu'l-mūlam fī tanfīsi'l-mughram*, a *qaṣīda* on religious matters.

lvii. Sayyid-nā Ḥasan Badru'd-dīn b. Idrīs, the son of the author lv, and himself the 20th *dā'ī*, d. the 15th Sha'bān, 918/26-x-1512.

(272) *'Ibāratu'l-ishārat wa'l-bishārat* (in *Azhār*, i). (272a) **R. al-Burhān*.

lviii. Sayyid-nā 'Alī Shamsu'd-dīn b. al-Ḥusayn b. Idrīs, the 22nd *dā'ī*, d. the 21st Dh.Q., 933/19-viii-1527.

(273) *R. fī'r-radd 'alā'l-māriq 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm*. (274) *al-Masā'ilu'l-'ishrūn fī'l-ḥaqīqat*, with a *faṣl fī intiqālī'r-rūh*.

lix. Ḥasan b. Nūḥ b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ādam al-Hindī al-Bharūchī, d. the 11th Dh.Q., 939/4-vi-1533.

(275) *Kitābu'l-Azhār wa majma'u'l-amwār al-malqūta min basāṭini'l-asrār wa majāmi' fawākīhi'r-rūḥāniyyat wa'th-thimār*, in seven volumes, composed about 931/1525, which is referred to in the work itself. It is a chrestomathy of extracts and short treatises systematically arranged to give an idea of the whole system of Ismailism: 1. contains an interesting introduction, in which the author mentions his studies, and gives a considerable amount of bibliographical information; prophets, Imams, some *dā'īs*, and *ḥudūd*¹; 2. events after the death of al-Āmir, the disappearance of aṭ-Tayyib (if he really existed), a brief account of the *dā'īs*

¹ Beg. of the first vol. الحمد لله الذى علم بالقلم علم الانسان ما لم يعلم الذى . . . حسن ابن نوح ابن يوسف لم يقبل عمل . . . اما بعد، فيقول العبد الفقير . . . ابن محمد ابن آدم الهندي مولداً الخ

of the period of *satr* up to Sayyid-nā Idrīs, works by the latter, and extracts from the *Tuhfatu'l-qulūb* (see No. 208), *al-Mūjizatu'l-Kāfiya* (No. 113), and the *Tis'ūniyya* (No. 244); 3. extracts and complete works of didactic nature; all of them, contained in the first three volumes, are included in this list; 4. on piety and religious devotion, extracts from several works; 5. difference of religious and philosophical opinions; 6. different subjects of pious life and ethics in the light of the *ḥaqā'iq*, as illustrated by extracts from different standard works; 7. questions of abstract speculations, *ta'wīl*, and *ḥaqā'iq*, also represented by extracts from standard works; on taking oath of allegiance, on interpretation of the Coran, etc. The work is obviously planned on the lines of the *MT.*, but the latter, on the whole, is more substantial; many items are included in both.

lx. Sayyid-nā Yūsuf Najmu'd-dīn b. Sulaymān, the 24th *dā'ī*, d. the 16th Dh.H., 974/24-vi-1567.

(276) **Majma'u'l-fiqh* (?). (277) *Risāla*, appended to *al-Mūjiza min nawmi'l-ghaflat*, see No. 255.

lxi. Sayyid-nā 'Abdu'l-lah al-Ma'dhūn, flourished in the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century.

(278) **ar-Rayḥānu'l-badī' fī sharḥ zahrat Rawḍati'r-rabī'*, lithographed.

lxii. Sham'ūn b. Muḥammad al-Ghūrī (?), flourished towards the end of the tenth/sixteenth century.

(279) *as-Su'āl wa'l-jawāb*, also called *al-Masā'ilu'sh-Sham'ūniyya*. (280) *al-Istirshād*, on controversial matters.

lxiii. 'Ali-Muḥammad (?) b. Firūz, the *wazīr* of 'Ajab Shāh (who was the father of the 26th *dā'ī*, Dāwūd b. 'Ajab-Shāh, d. the 27th Rab. ii, 999/22-ii-1591).

(281) **ar-Risālatu's-Ṣaghīra*, on controversy against the Sulaymānīs.

lxiv. Sayyid-nā Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, the 27th *dā'ī*

according to the calculation of the Sulaymānīs, and the founder of the Sulaymānī sub-sect, d. the 25th Ramaḍān, 1005/12-v-1597. A full list of his works is given later on, in the section on the Sulaymānī literature; here only one work by him, which is also recognized by the Dāwūdīs, is given.

(282) *an-Nukhabu'l-mulṭaḡata wa'z-zubadū'l-ma'khūdhā 'an awliyā'ī'l-lah*, in two volumes, divided into seven *bābs*, on occultistic interpretation of Ismaili philosophy: 1. *tawhīd*; 2. *ibdā'* and *inbi'āth*; 3. *'ālamu'l-aflāk*; 4. *al-mawālīd*; 5. *al-'ālamu'l-basharī*; 6. *ad-dawru'l-Muḥammadī*; 7. *ad-dawru'l-Ṭayyibī*.

lxv. Sayyid-ī Amīn-jī b. Jalāl, d. at Aḥmadābād the 13th Shawwāl, 1010/6-iv-1602.

(283) *Hisābu'l-mawārīth*, tables of shares in inheritance to be divided between the relatives. (284) *as-Su'āl wa'l-jawāb fi'l-fiqh*, also called *Masā'il Amīn-jī b. Jalāl*, a collection of questions on legal matters. (285) *al-Hawāshī*, a kind of commentary on the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*, being a collection of legal cases and decisions by different authorities, in two volumes. It is not clear whether this is not the same work as the preceding one. (285a) *al-Muntakhaba al-Manẓūma (fi'l-fiqh)*.

lxvi. Sayyid-ī Khawj b. Malik al-Kaparwanjī, who flourished at the beginning of the eleventh/seventeenth century, and died shortly before 1021/1612.

(286) *Badhrū'l-bidāyat*, a defence of the rights and the correctness of the succession of the 27th *dā'ī* of the Dāwūdīs, Dāwūd b. Quṭb-Shāh. It is apparently the same work as the *Ithbātu'l-khaṣā'il ihnayn wa thalāthīn li-Sayyidi-nā Dāwūd*. (287) *Sitt rasā'il*, or *Majmū'u'r-rasā'ilī's-sitt*, a collection of six short treatises dealing with the history of the Ismaili community in India, and especially with the split between the Dāwūdīs and Sulaymānīs.¹ The work is about 275 pages,

¹ Beg. الحمد لله رب العالمين . . . اما بعد فاني لما عثرت على ست رسائل
مما افقه الشيخ الفاضل . . . خوج بن ملك الخ

octavo, long, and is based on six *risālas*: 1. *Surūru'l-awliyyā'*, on Sayyid-nā Dāwūd b. 'Ajab Shāh's exit from Aḥmadābād to Kapaṛwanj, in 991/1583; 2. *Badhru'l-maḥabbat wa'sh-shifā'*, on his marrying his son in 995/1587, etc.; 3. *Ḥaḍiqatu'n-ni'am*, on his shifting to Cambay in the next year, etc.; 4. *Badhru'l-bidāyat* (the same as No. 286 ?), on his going to Kapaṛwanj in 998/1590, etc.; 5. *Ḥaḍiqatu'l-jinān*, on his imprisonment at Aḥmadābād in 1002/1593; 6. *Khaṣā'il Sayyidi-nā Dāwūd b. Quṭb Shāh*. These six *risālas* are summarized in the work, which is divided into four *bābs*, each subdivided into several *faṣls*: 1. history of Ismailism in India, in three *faṣls*; 2. biography of Sayyid-nā Dāwūd b. 'Ajab Shāh; in five *faṣls*; 3. biography of Sayyid-nā Dāwūd b. Quṭb-Shāh, in six *faṣls*; 4. in four *faṣls*, on geography of the localities inhabited by the Ismailis, on noteworthy graves, names of their dignitaries, remarkable things in their countries, and the last *faṣl*—on the biography of the author, Khawj b. Malik. At the end there are several appendices (*ta'liqāt*), mostly extracts from different histories of Gujrat. The name of the compiler is not given.

lxvii. Sayyid-ī Ḥasan b. Idrīs b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Idrīs b. Ḥasan, d. ca. 1021/1612.

(288) *az-Zawāhiru'l-bahiyya wa'l-bawāhiru'sh-shahiyya fī'l-ma'āthiri'l-munāfiyya wa'l-mafākhiri'l-anafiyya*, a history of Ismailism in the Yaman under the Imams and the *dā'īs*, to the beginning of the eleventh/seventeenth century. (289) *al-Kutub wa'r-rasā'il li-du'āti'l-Yaman*, a collection of official correspondence of the Yamanite *dā'īs*. (290) *al-Mufrida fī ibtāl turrahāti'l-Mujrida*, a refutation of the Sulaymani treatise by Muḥammad b. al-Fahd (probably his *R. al-Mutajarrida li-istinjāzi'l-'iddat*, cf. No. 563 further on). (291) *Dīwān*.

lxviii. Sayyid-nā Dāwūd Burhānu'd-dīn b. Quṭb-Shāh, the 27th *dā'ī* of the Dāwūdīs (not recognized by the Sulaymanis), d. the 15th Jum. ii, 1021/13–viii–1612.

(292) **ar-Risālatu'l-Kabīra* (?), and (293) **ar-Risālatu'ṣ-Ṣaḡhīra*, of similar contents, both dealing with refutation of the Sulaymanis.

lxix. Probably a pupil of the preceding author.

(294) *al-Muzayyinatu'l-mushāh fī sīrat Sayyidi-nā Dāwūd b. Quṭb-Shāh*.

lxx. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, apparently flourished in the eleventh/seventeenth century.

(295) *R. fī'r-radd 'alā'l-firqati's-Sulaymāniyya*.

lxxi. Sayyid-nā Ādam Ṣafīyyu'd-dīn b. Ṭayyib Shāh, the 28th (Dāwūdī) *dā'ī*, d. the 7th Rajab, 1030/28-v-1621.

(296) *R. fī kayfiyyat ibtidā' da'watī'l-hādīya fī jazīratī'l-Hind*, a history of the Ismaili community in India, since the time of al-Mustanṣir, when *dā'ī* 'Abdu'l-lah came to Khanbayat (Cambay) by order of the *dā'ī* Lamak b. Malik, and converted Raja Sidraj Singh; the heresy of Ja'far; events in Ahmadabad, etc. This work is popularly known under its Gujrati title, *Balī Mēdū*. (297) *Nibrāsu't-turūs fī ma'rifati'n-nufūs*, a collection of short works and extracts dealing with the questions about *nafs*, Imamāt, etc.

lxxii. An author who also probably flourished in the eleventh/seventeenth century.

(298) *Mudhīḍatu'l-buhtān fī daf'i'l-firqati's-Sulaymāniyya dhawi'l-fusūq wa't-tughyān*.

lxxiii. Sayyid-nā 'Abdu't-Ṭayyib Zakīyyu'd-dīn b. Dāwūd b. Quṭb-Shāh, the 29th (Dāwūdī) *dā'ī*, d. the 2nd Rab. i, 1041/28-ix-1631.

(299) *R. al-Ābā' wa'l-ummahāt*, on the rights of the parents over their children.

lxxiv. 'Abdu'l-Qādir Ḥakīmu'd-dīn b. Mullā Khān b. Ḥabībī'l-lah, the father of the 39th *dā'ī* (the latter died in 1142/1730).

(300) *al-Urjūza fī bayān mā fī sunnat min sunanī's-salāt*, an elementary versified treatise. (301) *Dīwān*. (302) *Kalīla wa Dimna*; it is interesting that the contents are given as: *tawhīd, šifātu'l-ard, aqālīm, šifatu'l-'uqūlī's-sab'a*. Sometimes this work is also called *K. al-Burhān*. (303) *Bulūhar wa Budhāsaf*, the famous didactic story. (304) *at-Tadhkīrāt*, in sixty-five *fasls*, on matters of ethics; it was originally written by an orthodox author, but later on adapted to the Ismaili ideas by Ḥakīmu'd-dīn.

lxxv. Ḥasan b. Dāwūd, apparently also flourished in the eleventh/seventeenth century.

(305) *Dīwān*, collected and edited by 'Abdu'l-Kalīm b. Isma'īl, apparently about the middle of the twelfth/eighteenth century. (306) *Urjūzat fī asmā'ī'd-du'āt*.

lxxvi. Ādam b. 'Abdi't-Ṭayyib (the latter died in 1110/1699).

(307) *al-Kalīmiyya*, an epistle sent from Udaipur to the 36th (Dāwūdī) *dā'ī*, Kalīmu'd-dīn Mūsā b. 'Abdi't-Ṭayyib (d. the 22nd Rab. ii, 1122/30–vi–1710).

lxxvii. Ḥasan b. Mullā Shams Khān, flourished in the first half of the twelfth/eighteenth century.

(308) *at-Tadhkira*, the story of the martyrdom of Quṭbu'd-dīn b. Dāwūd, or Quṭb-Khān, the 32nd (Dāwūdī) *dā'ī*, who was executed at Ahmadabad the 27th Jum. ii, 1056/10–viii–1646, of Fīr Khān (i.e. Pīr Khān), Isma'īl b. Mullā Rāj, and his son 'Abdu't-Ṭayyib. (309) There is another *Tadhkira*, on the same subject, by al-Mullā Hibatu'l-lah b. Walī Muḥammad, but the date of its composition is not clear.

lxxviii. Sayyid-nā Ibrāhīm Wajīhu'd-dīn b. 'Abdi'l-Qādir, the 39th (Dāwūdī) *dā'ī*, d. the 17th Muḥ., 1168/3–ix–1754.

(310) *al-Kutub wa'r-Rasā'il*, a collection of letters addressed to Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Wazīr al-Ḥarāzī, Ādam b. Nūrī'd-dīn, Badru'd-dīn, and others. (311) *al-Kurāsatu'l-Wajīhiyya*, on ethic matters.

lxxix. A Dāwūdī author who flourished in the end of the twelfth/eighteenth century.

(312) *Īdāhu'l-ma'ānī fī ihbātī'n-naṣṣi'l-muzahrafi's-Sulaymānī wa ihbātī'n-naṣṣi'l-burhānī*, on refutation of the Sulaymanis; at the end is given a complete list of the Dāwūdī *dā'īs*, up to the forty-first.

lxxx. Mullā Ḥabību'l-lah b. Maḥmūd b. Mullā 'Alī Bha'ī b. Mullā Amin-jī b. Mullā Ādam-jī Sidhpūrī, who probably flourished towards the end of the twelfth/eighteenth century.

(313) *al-Izhār wa't-tabyīn li'tiqādi's-Sulaymāniyya*, in three *bābs*, thirty *faṣls*, and a *su'āl*.

lxxxi. Mullā Ḥabību'l-lah b. Bābū-jī, flourished towards the end of the twelfth/eighteenth century (some say that he died in or about 1130/1718).

(314) *al-Munīrat wa'd-dīyā' li-manāqibi'd-du'āt dhawī'l-hudā wa'l-baṣīrat wa'l-ittiqā'*, on biography of Kalīmu'd-dīn, the 36th *dā'ī* (d. the 22nd Rab. ii, 1122/30–vi–1710).

lxxxii. A Dāwūdī author who probably wrote about the end of the twelfth/eighteenth century.

(315) *az-Zubūr fī ma'nā "nūr 'alā'n-nūr"*, a biography of the 37th *dā'ī* (who died the 4th Rajab, 1130/3–vi–1718).

lxxxiii. Another Dāwūdī author who wrote in 1156/1743.

(316) *al-Jawharu'th-thamīn fī ta'wīl sūrat Yā-sīn*.

lxxxiv. Another Dāwūdī author who wrote probably towards the end of the twelfth/eighteenth century.

(317) **al-Maymūna fī sirat Sayyid-nā Waḡḡhi'd-dīn* (i.e. the 39th *dā'ī*, see lxxviii).

lxxxv. 'Abdu'r-Rasūl b. al-Mullā Nūḥ Bhā'ī, d. in 1166 or 1167/1753–4.

(318) *Manāqib Sayyid-nā Waḡḡhi'd-dīn*, a biography of the same 39th *dā'ī*, of his father 'Abdu'l-Qādir, and of his son Hibatu'l-lah al-Mu'ayyid fī'd-dīn.

lxxxvi. Sayyid-ī Luqmān Wajihu'd-dīn b. Ḥabībī'l-lah, d. the 8th Jum. ii, 1173/27-i-1760.

(319) *‘Ibārat fī ṭā’atī’d-dā’ī’l-mukhtā’i*, a refutation of those who do not believe in the *‘iṣmat*, or infallibility of the *dā’ī’l-muṭlaq*. Completed in Dolkha, on the 28th of Muḥarram, 1157/13-iii-1744. (320) *Risālat Aflātūn*, on ethics, in eight *fasls*. (321) *R. fī muqābalat mā atā fī’s-Ṣaghīrati’l-jadīda*, on the *naṣṣ* of Ādam, the 28th *dā’ī*, to his successor, ‘Abdu’ṭ-Ṭayyib. (322) *al-Mawā’iz fī adā’i’z-zakāt*. (323) *al-Majmū’ al-Wajīhī* (or *Wajhī*) *fī adā’i’z-zakāt* (the same as the preceding one ?), consisting of seven *risālas*: 1. *al-Mawā’iza*; 2. letter to *Rahīm Bhā’i* b. *Qāsim-jī*; 3. letter to *Jiwā* b. *Rāj*; 4. to *Mālīk* b. *Dūsī*; 5. to *Miyān Bhā’i-jī*; 6. *R. akhdhu’l-ḥaqq wa tark ḍiddi-hi*; 7. *Risāla fī’z-zakāt*. (324) *R. al-Wajīhiyya fī tartībī’d-dīn wa tabyīn farḍ shahr Ramaḍān*, etc. (325) *al-Mukhtaṣaratu’l-Wajīhiyya fī bayān naṣṣ ‘Alī* b. *Abī Ṭālīb fī yawmi’l-Ghadīr wa mā atā fī-hi*, with an appendix (325a) *al-Mukhtaṣaru’l-Badrī*. (326) *al-Mukhtaṣaratu’l-Wajīhiyya fī ṭ-ṭā’at wa’l-qabūl li’l-amr wa’n-nahy ‘alā kull ḥāl*, etc., based on the *Majālis* of Abū’l-Barakāt (cf. No. 178). (327) *Sīrat ‘Abdī’l-Qādir* b. *Mullā Khān* (cf. lxxiv). (328) **Sīratu’d-du’āt al-Masnūna* (was translated and published in Gujrati). (329) *K. Sharīf fī mabāḥithī’l-firqat as-Sulaymāniyya*. (330) **R. fī’r-radd ‘alā’l-Hujūmiyya*, completed the 28th Ram., 1157/4-xi-1744. (331) *al-Hujaju’l-mūḍiḥāt ‘alā’l-Hujūmiyya*, the same as the preceding one ?

lxxxvii. Walī-Bhā’i b. Luqmān b. Ḥabībī'l-lah, the son of the preceding author, flourished towards the end of the twelfth/eighteenth and in the beginning of the thirteenth/nineteenth centuries.

(332) *R. al-Bishārat*, on the *naṣṣ* of the same Wajihu'd-dīn (lxxviii), to his successor, Hibatu'l-lah. (333) *R. ash-Shāfiya fī’l-mabāḥith*. (334) *ar-Radd ‘alā’l-Ikrāmi’s-Sulaymānī*.

lxxxviii. Shaykh Qutb (probably Qutbu'd-dīn) Bhā’i Burhānpūrī, flourished probably towards the end of the

twelfth/eighteenth century and at the beginning of the thirteenth/nineteenth.

(335) *Muntaza'u'l-akhbār fī akhbārī'd-du'ātī'l-akhyār*, in two volumes, the first dealing with the history of Ismailism to the beginning of the period of *satr*, and the second with that later period. It is in reality nothing but a summary and abridgment of the '*Uyūnu'l-akhbār*, by Sayyid-nā Idrīs (see No. 258).¹

lxxxix. Shaykh Isma'īl b. 'Abdī'r-Rasūl b. Metha Khān b. Ḥabīb b. Yūsuf b. Shāh-Malik b. Sultān b. Muḥammad b. Badanjī b. Dūsā b. Tarachand, a descendant of Lar Shāh, a learned shaykh of Ujjain, d. either in 1183 or 1184/1769-70.

(336) *al-Majmū' fī fihristī'l-kutub*, commonly known as *Fihristu'l-Majdū'* (i.e. the F. by one who was mutilated—his son's nose was cut off in vengeance for his heretical opinions), the work on which the present notes are chiefly based. It is a book of about 400 pages, octavo; it was completed before 1173/1760, as Luqmān b. Ḥabīb is referred in terms implying that he is still living. For the division and arrangement of the contents see the introduction to these notes.²

(337) *ar-Raḍīyya fī bayānī'r-ru'yā'ī'l-Wajīhiyya*, yet another biography of the same 39th *dā'ī* (lxxviii), and of his son, the 40th *dā'ī*. (338) *R. fī sīrat Luqmān b. Ḥabībī'l-lah* (cf. lxxxvi). (339) **al-Wajīhiyya fī sīratī'l-Kalīmīyya*, a biography of the 36th *dā'ī*, cf. No. 307. (340) *al-Mu'ayyida fī muṭābaqatī'l-umūr 'alā sh-shar'at wa radd mā (man?) lam ya'lam dhalik 'alā Sāḥibī'd-da'watī'r-rāfi'a*, refuting those who deny the necessity of outward piety and devotion.

¹ الحمد لله الذى لا يبلغه عوض الفطن . . . اما بعد . . . Beg. of the first vol. فهذا منتزع فى الاخبار ومختصر فى الآثار انتزعت من كتب متفرقة و بسطته على اخبار الخ .

² الحمد لله رب العالمين . . . اما بعد، فانه لما كانت مصنفات اولياء الله . . . Beg. من الأئمة و دعايتها و علومهم الجارية منهم الخ .

Some more works, not mentioned in F., are found in the list of a private collection in Ujjain (the native town of the author); some of them are autograph copies: (340a) *R. (or K.) *al-Iṣlāḥ*. (340b) **al-Jawāhiru'th-thamīna* (?). (340c) **Kashf wujūhi'l-ma'ād*. (340d) *al-Majmū'u'l-mufīd*, a collection of notes on the *ḥaqā'iq*, and esoteric matters, in the handwriting of the author himself. (340e) **Masā'il*, another collection of notes. (340f) **Mubīnatu'l-asrār*. (340g) **al-Munāzarāt ma' ba'di'sh-Shī'at*. (340h) **Muṣqilatū'l-khawāṭir*. (340i) **Hikāyat Qiṣṣati'l-Mud'i*.

xc. Shaykh Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-'Arabī al-Ya'barī, who died probably about 1189/1775.

(341) R. *al-'Aliyya fī'r-radd 'alā'l-firqati's-Sulaymāniyyati'l-ghāliya*.

xcī. Sayyid-nā Yūsuf Najmu'd-dīn b. 'Abdī't-Ṭayyib, the 42nd (Dāwūdī) *dā'i*, who died the 18th Jum. ii, 1213/27-xi-1798.

(342) **al-Majmū'a*, on various religious subjects. (343) **al-Masā'ilu's-Sayfiyya*. (344) **Ḍaw' nūri'l-ḥaqiqi'l-mubīn*, on the matter of the succession in the office of *dā'i*. Printed ?

xcīi. Sayyid-nā 'Abd 'Alī Sayfu'd-dīn b. Zakīyyi'd-dīn 'Abdī't-Ṭayyib, the 43rd (Dāwūdī) *dā'i*, d. the 12th Dh.Q., 1232/23-ix-1817.

(345) **Mulakḥkhaṣ sīrat Luqmān-jī Ṣāhib*. (346) *R. *as-Sayfiyya*. (347) **Na'y Sayyid-i Adam Sayfiyyi'd-dīn*. (348) **Diwān*.

xcīii. Ibrāhīm as-Sayfī, of Surat, d. the 16th Jum. i, 1236/19-ii-1821.

(349) **al-Majālisu's-Sayfiyya*. (350) **al-Fatāwā's-Sayfiyya*. (351) **Ḥadīqatu'l-hikam*. (352) **Risālatu'l-libās*.

xciv. Sayyid-nā Muḥammad 'Izzu'd-dīn b. Shaykh Jiwān-jī, the 44th (Dāwūdī) *dā'i*, d. the 19th Ram., 1236/20-vi-1821.

(353) **R. na'y Mawlā-nā 'Abd 'Alī Sayfi'd-dīn.*

xcv. Sayyid-nā Ṭayyib Zaynu'd-dīn b. Jiwān-jī, the 45th *dā'ir*, d. the 15th Dh.Q., 1252/21-ii-1837.

(354) **al-Masā'ilu'z-Zayniyya.*

xevi. Sayyid-nā Muḥammad Badru'd-dīn b. 'Abd 'Alī Sayfi'd-dīn, the 46th *dā'ir*, d. the 29th Jum. ii, 1256/28-viii-1840.

(355) **Muḥriqatu'l-akbād*, a refutation of those who do not believe in the correctness of the succession of the *dā'ir*.

xcvii. Aḥmad 'Alī b. Ḥamīdī'd-dīn Walī-Bhā'ī, flourished about the middle of the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

(356) **Lamī'āt (Lama'āt ?) najmī'th-thāqib.* (357) **Sharḥ* of the preceding (perhaps by somebody else). (358) **Dāmighatu'l-ifk wa'l-buhtān.*

xcviii. Sharaf 'Alī Sīdh-pūrī, flourished in the second half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

(359) **Riḡāḍu'l-jinān*, lithographed in Bombay, 1277/1860.

(360) **Uyūnu'l-ma'ārif*, on controversial matters. Was also lithographed in Bombay, but later on was proscribed by the Government; copies are very rare now.

xcix. 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm as-Sayfi, flourished in the second half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

(361) **Dīwān.* (362) **Lubbu'l-lubāb.* (362a) **Tuḥfatu'l-ikhwān*, a commentary on four *risālas* from the Encyclopædia of the *Ikhwānu's-ṣafā*.

c. Walī Bhā'ī (the same as lxxxvii ?).

(363) **Najmu'th-thāqib*, on the rights of the 47th *dā'ir*, whose *naṣṣ* was disputed.

ci. Sayyid-nā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Najmu'd-dīn b. Ṭayyib Zayni'd-dīn, the 47th *dā'ir*, d. the 26th Rajab, 1302/11-v-1885.

(364) **al-Waḍiyya fī ʾidāḥi'n-naṣṣ wa'l-waṣiyya*, on the same question of the succession.

cii. Muḥammad 'Alī Hamdānī, lived at the end of the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

(365) **Risālatu'l-hijrat*, on an attempt to find the hidden Imam.

ciii. 'Abd 'Alī Walī-Bhā'ī, lived at the end of the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

(366) **Mulakhkhaṣu's-sīrat'l-Hakīmīyya*.

civ. Sayyid-i 'Abdu'l-lah Bhā'ī Fakhru'd-dīn, lived at the end of the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

(367) **Munabbihatu'l-waṭhnān (wasnān ?)* (or *Manbahatu'l-*), on the same controversy.

cv. Ja'far-jī Najmī, flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth/twentieth century.

(368) **Riyāḍu'sh-shuhadā'*, a popular work on the lives of the Imams, lithographed in Bombay. (369) **Khayru'l-jalās*, in the same strain, lithographed in Bombay in 1303/1886. (370) **Ka'batu'l-mafākhir*, lithographed in Bombay in 1307/1889.

cvi. Muḥammad-'Alī, d. in 1315 or 1316/1897-9.

(371) **Mawṣimī bahār*, in three volumes, in Gujrati with much admixture of Arabic. The third volume was completed first, in Jum. ii, 1299/Apr., 1882, and was lithographed at that time. It deals with the history of the *dā'īs* of the period of *satr*. The first and the second volumes followed very soon. The third volume was lithographed in 1301/1884, and the first and second about 1311/1893. This edition was soon sold out, and the first two volumes were reprinted about five years ago. The third volume is extremely rare, and can be obtained only at fancy price; the first and the second volumes also are out of print; the new edition, too. A new edition was vetoed by the High Priest.

§ 2. WORKS THE DATE OF WHICH CANNOT BE ASCERTAINED

cvii. Sayyid-nā 'Abdu't-Ṭayyib. There were three *dā'īs* with the name 'Abdu't-Ṭayyib, namely, the 29th (d. in 1041/1631), the 35th (d. 1110/1699), and the 41st (d. in 1200/1785), but which of these is referred to is uncertain.

(372) *Risālat ilā'l-mu'minīn min ahl Dungaḥpur.*

cviii. Ibrāhīm al-Hindī (?).

(373) *R.* (or *Majālis*) *fī ta'wīl aḥādīthi'n-Nabī*, divided into thirty *majlis*, of which only eight are preserved, dealing with the forty selected *ḥadīths*.

§ 3. WORKS OF WHICH NEITHER THE AUTHORS NOR THE DATES OF COMPOSITION ARE KNOWN

(Arranged in alphabetical order)

(374) *al-Ādābū'd-dīniyya*, in fourteen *faṣls*. Cf. No. 404.

(375) **Adallu'l-khayrāt*, on prayers.

(376) *al-Adwār wa'l-akwār*, apparently an old work ; F.—not seen.

(377) *Aḥādīth Banī Isrā'īl*, in fifty *ḥikāyāt* 'ajība. Was lithographed in Bombay, in a Gujrati translation.

(378) **Aḥdu'l-awliyā*, the formula of the *mīthāq*, different for men and for women. Another version—in Urdu.

(379) *Akālīm Rasūli'l-lah.*

(380) *al-Amn min al-hayrat*, a popular elementary book on religion in twenty-three *bābs* (cf. No. 38c).

(380a) *al-Ashbāḥ wa'l-aẓilla* (by Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far ?).

(381) **Ishrūn mā'ida fī'l-ḥaqā'iq*, twenty *ajwibatū'l-masā'il* 'r-rūḥāniyya, and 179 *mas'ala*. Fatimide period ?

(382) **Ishrūn masā'il ta'wīliyya*, apparently an old work.

— *R. al-Ayyām*, see under *Risālat*.

(382a) **R. al-Badriyya fī ma'rifati's-sanati'sh-shamsiyya wa'l-qamariyya.*

(383) *al-Baḥth fī'l-ḥaqā'iq fī dhikri'l-'āll wa'l-'illa wa'l-ma'lūl.*

(384) **al-Balāghu'l-kabīr*, apparently a very old work, as referred to by Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī. May be not an Ismaili work; perhaps the work of the Druzes, comp. in 409/1018, cf. de Sacy, *Exposé*, p. cccclxviii, No. 9. It is also called *R. an-Nūrāniyya*.

(384a) **Baṭshatu'l-kubrā* (by 'Abd 'Alī b. 'Imādi'd-dīn?), on the death of 46th *dā'ī*.

(385) **Bawāhiru'l-ma'āthila wa nawādiru'l-maqābila*, a modern work dealing with the *naṣṣ* of the 47th *dā'ī*.

(386) **R. al-Bayān fī tamām shahr Ramaḍān*.

(387) **K. adh-Dhāt wa's-sūrat*, quoted in *Azhār*, i.

(388) **Ḍiyā'u'l-abṣār wa jalā'u'l-afkār*.

(389) **Ḍiyā'u'l-abṣār fī sirat Sayyidi-nā 'Ammār*.

(390) **al-Fā'il wa'l-maf'ūl fī'l-ḥaqīqat*.

(391) **al-Farā'id wa ḥudūdu'd-dīn*, cf. No. 45.

(392) **Faṭhu'l-majīd bi-kifāyati'l-murīd*, a school-book, printed.

(393) *Ghāyatu'l-laṭā'if wa'l-kathā'if*, sometimes ascribed to Muḥammad b. Tāhir, or to Dhu'ayb.

(394) *Ḥadīth ijtīmā'i'l-ithnā 'ashar bāban bi-bāb Mawlā-nā al-'Azīz*, cited in *MT*.

(395) **Ḥadiyyatu'l-azhar fī sirat Sayyidi-nā Abī Dharr al-Ghifārī* (printed).

(396) **Ḥayratu'l-fuḡahā'* (printed).

(397) *Īdāhu'sh-shar'* (doubtful whether an Ismaili work).

(398) **Iḥyā'u'l-layl*, on prayers.

(399) *Ilīhāb nirāni'l-aḥzān wa muthīru'l-ashjān*, on lives of saints.

(400) **Iṭbātu'l-mash' alā'r-rijlayn*.

(400a) **K. al-Izdiwāj*.

(400b) **Jāmi'atu'l-jawāhir*.

(401) **Jawāhiru'l-ḥikam wa bawāhiru'l-kalīm* (in Gujrati?).

(402) **Jawāhiru'l-'iqdayn*.

(403) **al-Jawhar*.

(404) *Kalām fī'l-ādāb* (cf. No. 374).

(405) **Kalāmu'l-ḥikma*.

(406) **Kashfu't-ta'miya wa't-talbīs*, a modern work on refutation of the claims of the present High Priest, printed.

(406a) **Kayfiyyatu'l-balāgh*.

(407) *Kayfiyyatu't-talab li-man arāda't-talkhīṣ min ḥabā'ilī sh-Shayṭān*.

(407a) **Khabaru'l-mi'rāj wa tazwīju'n-Nabī*.

(408) *Kitābu's-sā'at*.

(409) *Kitāb Sayyidi-nā al-Husayn*.

(410) **Kitābu'n-nuṣūṣ*.

(411) *al-Lā'īha (fī bayāni'l-'ālam wa anna kulla-hā majbūr ba'du-hā taht ba'd)*. In *MT*.

(412) *R. al-Ma'ād wa't-tawhīd*; F.—not seen.

(413) *al-Ma'ārifu'l-'aqliyya*; F.—not seen.

(414) *al-Mabāḥithu't-tis'a 'ani'l-'ālam*; in *MT*.

(415) **Madkhalu't-ta'wīl*; in *Azhār*, i.

(416) **Majālisu'l-abrār*.

(416a) **al-Majlis fī-hi nuzhat li'l-'uqūl wa'n-nufūs*.

(417) *Majmū'u'l-ḥaqā'iq (mutawassit bayna't-talwīḥ wa't-taṣrīḥ, fī aqāwīli'd-du'ātī'l-kibār Ja'far b. Maṣṣūrī'l-Yaman, Ḥamīdī'd-dīn, al-Mu'ayyid)*, divided into seven *bābs*: 1. *tawhīd*; 2. *ibdā'*; 3. *inbi'āth*; 4. *nafs*; 5. *uṣūlu'd-dīn*; 6. *ma'ād*; 7. *'iqāb*.

(418) **Majmū' kalām ba'dī'l-ḥukamā'*.

(419) *Majmū'u'l-masā'il fī'l-ḥaqā'iq (wa hiya a'lā mā fī-hi minā'l-masā'il wa zubdatu-hā)*, in thirteen *mas'ala*: 1. *al-'ālamu'r-rūḥānī*; 2. *nāsūtu'l-Imām*; 3. *naqlatu'l-Imām*; 4. *Ādamu'l-kullī ṣāhibu'l-juthihatī'l-ibdā'iyya*; 5. *ahl dawri'l-kashf kayf ajāmu-hum*; 6. *aṣ-ṣūratu'l-abaliyya*; 7. *'adhāb*; 8. *al-kūru'l-a'zam*; 9. *mā yukhallifu'l-kawākib*; 10. *al-miswaqāt*; 11. *al-Jinn al-ladhī(na) qatala-hum Amīru'l-mu'minīn*; 12. *'an Marolā-nā Isma'il b. Ja'far wa'l-mawt al-ladhī azhara-hu thumma shuhid ḥayyan ba'd dhālik bi'l-Baṣra*; 13. *kitābu'l-fijār*, etc.

(420) *al-Majmū'u sh-sharīf fī'l-ḥaqā'iq*.

(421) **Majmū' Wajīhī fī'l-mabāḥith wa'l-ihtijājāt*, on controversy, modern.

(422) *al-Manqūlāt min kutubī'l-ḥaqā'iq li-ahlī'l-Bayt fī mabāhiṭhi'l-firqati's-Sulaymāniyya.*

(423) *Mansaku'l-ḥajj.*

(424) **Maqṭal janāb Amīrī'l-mu'minīn*, in Gujrati, printed.

(425) *R. al-Marātibu'l-muḥiṭ bi-ashrāfi'l-madhāhib*, in twelve *martaba*; they deal with the usual topics of *tawḥīd*, *ibdā'*, *nafs*, *ta'wīl*, prayer, etc.

(425a) **Ma'rifatu'r-rūḥ wa naṣṣ Abī Ṭālib 'alā'n-Nabī.*

(426) **al-Maṣābiḥu'z-zāhira* (in *Azhār*, i).

(427) **Masā'il mashāyikhi'l-Hind min du'āti'l-Yaman* (the same as *al-Hawāshī*?).

(428) *Masā'ilu'l-mustajībi'l-'abdi's-sālik*; in *MT.*, i.

— *Masā'ilu'n-nikāḥ*, see under *Nikāḥ*.

— *Masā'ilu't-ṭalāq*, see under *Ṭalāq*.

(429) **Miftāḥu't-ṭahārat* (modern, printed, in Gujrati).

(430) **Miṣbāḥu't-ṭahārat* (modern, printed, in Gujrati).

(431) **Mudḥidatu'l-buhtān fī ṣiyām shahr Ramadān*; cf. No. 268.

(432) *Mudḥatu't-talbīs wa dāḥidatu't-tadlīs.*

(433) *Maḥajjatu'l-irshād wa'l-mudḥiṭ li-sabīli'n-najāt min 'ālamī'l-kawn wa'l-fasād. MT.*, ii.

(434) *al-Mukhtaṣara fī taḥqīq i'tiqādi'l-Ismā'iliyya*, in twelve *faṣls*, proofs of the correctness of the Ismaili doctrine from the standard works of the Sunnites and Shi'ites.

(435) *al-Mukhtaṣaratu'z-Zāhira fī ta'kīd a'mālī'sh-shar'i'ati'z-zāhira.*

(436) **al-Muntakhabātu'l-mufīda fī tashḥiḥi'l-'aqīda.*

(436a) **R. al-Muwāzana.*

(437) **R. an-Nafs.*

(438) **Nahju'l-hidāya.*

(439) **Mas. an-Nikāḥ wa't-ṭalāq.*

(439a) **R. an-Nūr wa'd-dīyā' fī ta'wīli'l-ayyāmī'l-fādila.*

(439b) **R. an-Nūr wa'l-ḥayāt* (or *al-Ḥayāt wa'n-nūr*).

— *an-Nūrāniyya*, see *al-Balāghu'l-kabīr*.

(439c) **K. an-Nuṣūṣ fī i'tiqādi'l-khuṣūṣ fī n-nafsi'l-insāniyya.*

(439d) **R. Qādiḥa zunādī'l-faṭn.*

- (440) *al-Qāṭi'a li'l-awdāj*, a refutation of Sulaymanis.
- (440a) **R. Qāṭi'a 'urūqi's-Sulaymāniyya*.
- (441) *al-Qawl fī'r-Risālat wa'l-Imāmat*.
- (441a) **Qiṣṣatu'l-arnab*.
- (441b) **Qiṣṣat Isma'il*.
- (441c) **Qiṣṣat khabari't-Tirmimāh*.
- (442) **Qiṣṣat Mawlā-nā Isma'il b. Ibrāhīm*, in verse (*mathnawī*), about 450 bayts.¹
- (442a) **Qiṣṣatu'l-Mukhtār*.
- (442b) **Qiṣṣat Qaṣrī'dh-dhab*.
- (443) **Qiṣṣat ru'yati'd-dā'i Sayyid-nā 'Alī as-Ṣulayhī* (the latter d. 473/1080).
- (443a) **Qiṣṣat Sulaymān*.
- (443b) **Qiṣṣat Tamīm b. Ḥabīb ad-Dārī*.
- (443c) **Qiṣṣatu't-Tayyib*.
- (444) **Risālatu'l-ayyām*.
- *Q. fī'r-Risālat wa'l-Imāmat*, see *Qawl fī* —.
- (445) **ar-Riwāyātu'l-ḥaqīqa* (—*al-ḥaqīqiyya* ?).
- (446) **Sabā'iku'n-naḍīr wa'l-lujayn*, printed, on observation of the new moon, modern.
- (447) **Ṣaḥīfatu's-salāt*, the prayer book of the Dāwūdīs, has been repeatedly lithographed.
- (448) **Sajl 'Abdī'r-Rahmān fī'r-radd 'alā's-Sulaymāniyya*.
- (449) **Sayfu'l-burhān*, modern.
- (450) *Shahādātu'sh-shāhidīna'l-'ādīna'l-ladhīna lā yamīlūn ilā aḥadi'l-insāni'l-kabīr wa'l-insāni's-ṣaḡhīr 'alā ṣiḥḥat 'ālamī'd-dīn wa muqābalati-hi bi-mā fī-hā*.
- (451) *Sharḥu'l-mulūk*, in *Azhār*, iv.
- (451a) *Sharḥ Simṭi'l-ḥaqā'iq*, cf. No. 240.
- (452) *K. ash-Shaykh wa'sh-Shābb fī dhikr mā jarā bayna-humā fī ṭarīqi-himā*, apparently an early work, on *ḥaqā'iq*.
- (453) **Simṭu'd-durar fī shawāridi'l-ghurar*, modern work, versified, printed.

¹ Beg. الحمد لله القدير المتقدر الملك الفرد الذي لا يفتر

(454) **Sīrat du'ātī'l-Hind*, modern. Has also been lithographed in a Gujrati translation.

(455) **K. as-Siyāsāt wa'r-riyāsāt* (from the *Ikhwānu's-Ṣafā*?).

(456) **Subulu'n-najāt* (probably a mistake for the *Sullamu'n-najāt*, see No. 31).

(457) **at-Tadhkīrātu'l-manzūma*.

(458) *K. at-Taḥdhīr wa't-tandhīr*, apparently an early controversial work.

(459) *K. at-Tanbīh*, an early work, extracts in *Azhār*, iv.

(460) *Taqāwīm al-ahkāmī'sh-shar'iyya*, an early work, resembling the *Yanbū*'.

(461) **Taqṣīmu'l-amwāl fī'l-wārithīn* (tables).

(462) **Tartīb ṣalāti'l-layl*.

(463) **R. at-Tawḥīd*.

(464) **K. at-Tawḥīd fī sharḥ khuṭbat Amīri'l-mu'minīn*.

(464a) **K. at-Tawḥīd wa'l-ḥaqā'iq*.

(464b) **Ta'wīl alif-bā*'.

(465) *Ta'wīl amthālī'l-Qur'ān*; F.—not seen.

(466) **Ta'wīlu'l-Qur'ān*, twenty *mas'alas* on *ḥaqā'iq*.

(467) *Qiṣṣat Ta'yīn makān mawlā-nāṭ-Tayyīb ba'da'l-istitār*, in *Azhār*, iii.

(468) **Thawāqibu'l-budūr al-musha'sha'a minā'sh-shumūs*.

(469) **Mas. Ṭalāq wa nikāḥ*.

(470) **Tuḥfatu'l-masā'il*, in Gujrati, modern, in three volumes, printed, on *fiqh*.

(470a) **Tuḥfatu'l-mustarshidīn*.

(471) **Ummahātu'l-Islām*, in *Azhār*, i.

(472) *R. al-Waḍiyya fī ma'rifati'l-arṣiyā*', in *Azhār*, i, and *MT*.

(473) *R. al-Waḍiyya fī wujūbi'l-bay'at wa akhdhi'l-Mithāq*, in *Azhār*.

(474) *R. al-Wā'iza fī mā bayna'l-atimmā*', etc.

(475) *R. al-Wajhiyya* (or *Wajhiyya*?) *fī bayān istidā' Mawlā-nā Husayn li-akhī-hi Muḥammad ibni'l-Hanafīyya wa amri-hi la-hu*.

(475a) **Waṣīyyatū'l-Khālīq li'l-makhlūq*.

(476) **Zādu'z-zā'irīn*, modern, printed, in Gujrati.

(477) **R. az-Zāhira fī jawābi'l-masā'il*.

— **az-Zāhira fī ta'kid*, see *al-Mukhtaṣaratū'z-Zāhira*.

(477a) *Zalzalatū's-sā'a*, about the death of the 44th *dā'ī*.

§ 4. WORKS BY NON-ISMAILI AUTHORS, USED AND REVERED BY ISMAILIS

(478) *Maṭālī'u'l-awwār fī'l-ḥikma*, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad (or Aḥmad) b. 'Alī ibn al-Waḥshiyya an-Nabaṭī, died at the end of the third/ninth century, cf. Brock., i, 243; included in *Azhār*, vi.

(479) *Nahju'l-balāgha*, sermons of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, "collected" by as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī, d. 436/1044, cf. Brock., i, 404.

(480) *al-Ghurur wa'd-durar fī akālīm Amīri'l-mu'minīn*, by the same compiler as the preceding work, cf. Brock., *ibid*.

(481) *Ghuraru'l-ḥikam wa duraru'l-kalīm*, another work on 'Alī's sayings, by 'Abdu'l-Wāhid al-Āmidī at-Tamīmī, ca. 510/1116, cf. Brock., i, 44, "inkāran 'alā'l-la'in Abī 'Uthmān al-Jāhiz."

(482) *al-Ḥadā'iqū'l-wardiyya fī dhikr dhammī'z-Zaydiyya*, by Abū 'Abdī'l-lah Ḥamīd b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī al-Yamanī, d. 652/1254, cf. Brock., i, 325; quoted in *Azhār*, v.

(483) *Qaṣīdat fī dhammī's-samā' wa ahli-hi*, by Isma'il b. Abī Bakr al-Yamanī, d. 837/1433, cf. Brock., ii, 190; quoted in *al-Azhār*, iii.

(484) *K. at-Tawrāt*.

(485) *K. az-Zubūr*.

(486) *K. al-Munabbihāt*, on ethics.

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cix. Sayyid-nā Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, the founder of the sub-sect, see lxiv above. An incomplete list of his works, alphabetically arranged, is given here ; as one may see, they mostly deal with occultism and similar matters.

(487) *al-Abjadiyya dhātu'l-asrāri'l-Aḥmadiyya*. (488) *al-'Adadū'd-dā'ir* (?). (489) *al-Anwār fī idāḥi'l-asrār*. (490) *al-Bayān li-ḥaḡā'iqi'l-'adl wa'l-iḥsān*. (491) *al-Bayān wa'n-naṣīḥat wa'l-mawā'iz*. (492) *ad-Da'wat li'l-khāṣṣat wa'l-'āmmat wa li-indhār bi-yarwmi's-ṣaḥḥat wa't-tāmmat*. (493) *Dīwān*. (494) *Dukhūl shukūr sanat bi-ayyāmi'l-usbū*. (495) *Faṭḥu'l-akmām wa'z-zuhūr fī shay' min asrāri'l-ayyāmi's-sab'at al-latī 'alay-hā mabnā'd-dukhūr*. (496) *Funūnu'l-ma'ārif wa 'uyūnu'l-latā'if*. (497) *al-Ḥikmatu'l-bāhira fī'n-nishā'ati'l-ūlā wa'n-nishā'ati'l-ākḥira*. (498) *al-Idāḥ wa'l-bayān fī . . . iqāmati'l-ḥuḡaj ilā kāfati'l-ikhwān*. (499) *al-Idāḥ wa't-ta'rīf fī kull ma'nā fādīl sharīf*. (500) *al-Idhār wa't-ta'rīf wa'l-irshād wa'l-indhār wa't-takḥwīf bi-azwāḡ yawmi't-tanād*. (501) *Idḥādū't-talbīs aṣ-ṣādir 'an Ḥasan b. Idrīs*. (502) *'Iqdū'l-jawāhiri'n-nafsāniyya wa simṭu'd-durarī'r-rūḥāniyya*. (503) *Ishāratu'l-'adadi'l-hādiya ilā'n-nahji'l-asadd*. (504) *Ma'dharatu'l-muta'āsī wa tadḥkiratu'l-muqtadī'l-mutanāsī wa kitāb sharīf balīgh ilā Dāwūd b. Quṭb fī'l-ḥujjat*. (505) *Majālisu'l-ḥikma wa'l-bayān wa izhār ta'wīl kharwāṣṣi'l-'adad bi'l-ḥujjat wa'l-burḥān*. (506) *Mukhtaṣar Zubdi'l-'ulūmi'l-mulqiḥa li'l-adhhān wa'l-ḥukm*. (507) *al-Mukhtaṣara fī'l-wa'z wa't-tadḥkira*. (508) *al-Mukhtaṣara li-ibdā'i'l-ma'dhara*. (509) *R. Mukhtaṣara . . . 'alā sabīli'l-wa'z wa't-tanbīḥ wa't-tadḥkira*. (510) *R. al-Munabbīha 'alā itbā' sabīli'l-wādīḥ bi'd-dalā'il wa'l-mathālāt wa'l-barāḥini'l-larwā'ih*. (511) *R. al-Mukhtaṣaratu'l-Munsha'a li'l-ikhwān 'alā sabīli't-tadḥkira*. (512) *R. al-Munsha'a li'l-ikhwān . . . fī'l-ḥazz 'alā'l-qiyām bi-sharā'ifi'l-Islām*. (513) *Muntahā'l-ghāyāt fī ma'rifat mamihūli'l-āyāt*. (514) *Mushayyidat arkāni'd-dīn fī ta'yīn marātibī'l-ḥudūd wa'l-maḥdūdīn*. (515) *R. Nazmu'l-'adadi'l-fard*. (516) *R. Nazmu'l-'adadi'z-zawj*. (517) *Nubdhat fī*

istikhrāj ḥurūfi'l-Fātiḥa. (518) *Nubdhat fī muqābalat ḥurūf Ibrāhīm li'l-'adadi't-tāmm wa'l-'adadi'l-kāmil*. (519) *K. an-Nukhabī'l-multaḡaṭa wa'z-zubadi'l-mustanbaṭa*, apparently the same work as No. 282, where the title is given in a slightly different form. (520) *R. ash-Shāfiya fī dhawāti'l-mawā'izi'l-kāfiya*. (521) *K. ash-Sharīf*, a collection of letters on *nafs*. (522) *Shifā'u's-ṣudūr nukāt mina'l-kitābi'l-mastūr*. (523) *R. ash-Shukr li'l-Mun'imī 'l-Wahhāb 'alā mā fataḥ min jazāli'n-na'im wa Huwa'r-Raḥīmu't-Tawwāb*. (524) *R. as-Su'āl wa'l-ikhtibār wa'r-zaḡr li'l-mudda'i 'an fi'li-hi'dh-dhamīm wa'l-istikbār*. (525) *Tuḡfatu'l-arwāḥ wa farjatu'n-nufūsi'l-mulakhkhaṣa min 'ilmay al-ma'qūl wa'l-maḥsūs*. (526) *R. Yanbū'u'l-farā'id wa majmū'u'l-qaṣā'id*.

cx. Sayyid-nā Ja'far b. Sulaymān b. Ḥasan, the son of the preceding dā'i, and himself the 28th dā'i of the Sulaymanis, d. the 29th Rab. ii, 1050/18-viii-1640. The present list of his works, alphabetically arranged, gives those of them only which were composed by the author before 1029/1620, i.e. the date of the composition of the *Munira*, by Muḥammad b. al-Fahd, from which it is taken.

(527) *al-Bayānu'l-arfa'u'l-asmā al-ma'dūd bi'd-dalā'ilī'l-'uṣmā*. (528) *Dīwān*, several parts have special titles. (529) *al-Hādiya ilā'n-nahjī'l-qawīm al-mu'addiya ilā Jannāti'n-na'im*. (530) *al-Ḥāsiba li'l-firḡati'l-kādhība fī nafyi-hā kawṇ Sayyidi-nā Sulaymān b. Ḥasan min ḥudūd Sayyidi-nā Dāwūd b. 'Ajab a'lā'l-lah qudsay-himā qāṭiba*. (531) *Ḥayāt arwāḥ ahli'l-imān fī tafsīr alfāz naṣṣ Sayyidi-nā Dāwūd b. 'Ajab ilā Sayyidi-nā Sulaymān*. (532) *Jāmi'atu'l-farā'idī'l-ḥasana fī ta'wīl tartībī's-sana*. (533) *Jāmi'atu'sh-shaml wa'n-naql wa rāḡatu'n-nafs wa'l-aql*. (534) *Majma'u'l-barāhīnī'l-munbathā wa maqma' ash-Shayāṭini'l-mukhbūtha*. (535) *al-Majālisu'l-ashrafiyya as-Sulaymāniyya fī idāhī'l-minḡāj wa'l-wa'z wa'l-ihtijāj*. (536) *al-Maḡāmi'u'l-qāmi'a dhātu'l-barāhīnī'l-lāmi'a*. (537) *al-Mubṣira mina'l-'amā wa'l-mubtīla li-da'watī'l-a'warī'l-a'mā*. (538) *Mudkhbatu'z-zubad wa mukhbitatu'z-zabad*. (539)

al-Munjiya min gharqī'n-nufūs wa'l-muhlīka li-man khālaf aqwāl sāhibi'n-nāmūs. (540) Qāsimatu'z-zahr wa bāsimatu'th-thighr fī jawāb 'alā mā qīl fī ṣalāt laylati'l-Qadr. (541) Rawḍatu'l-akhbār, in four juz's: 1. anbiyā; 2. Muḥammad; 3. 'Alī; 4. Imāns. (542) ar-Rīḥu'l-'āṣif wa'z-za'za' al-qāṣif. (543) Riyāḍu'l-hikamī'r-rā'iqā al-mu'idda li'n-nufūsi'n-nāṭiqā. (544) ash-Shuhubu'l-muḥriqā li-kull mufnid kafūr wa's-suḥubu'l-mundafī'a li-ḥayātī'l-jumhūr. (545) as-Sihāmu'l-muṣṣiba li'l-qawmi'l-muḥdithīn li'l-bid'a fī's-ṣawm. (546) Tuḥfatu'l-mustajībī'n-najīb wa farjatu's-sā'il wa'l-mujīb. (547) Tuḥfatu's-ṣāliḥ as-salīm wa niqmatu'l-kāshih al-anīm fī'l-jawāb 'alā Risālat (Amīn-jī) b. Jalāl ar-ramīm (?). (548) az-Zahratu'z-zāhira fī zawādi'l-ākhirā.

cxi. Sayyid-i Ṣaḥīyyu'd-dīn Muḥammad b. al-Fahd al-Makramī, a Sulaymani dignitary who was an acting *dā'ī* (*ad-dā'ī'l-mustawda'*) during Ja'far b. Sulaymān's minority. He died the 1st Sha'bān, 1042/11-2-1633. The present list of his works, alphabetically arranged, seems to be complete up to 1029/1620, i.e. the date of the completion of the *Munira*.

(549) *al-'Āmira li-wuddi'l-ikhwān al-Āmira bi'l-wazn wa'l-qist fī'l-mizān. (550) Aqwāl la-hu* (i.e. Muḥam. b. Fahd) *fī'l-hujjat. (551) al-Asliḥatu'l-muthqifa wa'l-ajwibatū'l-muskita al-mūqifa. (552) Dāḥiyatu't-talbīs wa kāshifatu't-tadlīs. (553) Darā'ibu'l-ḥaqqi'l-muthkhina li-tadlīsī'l-bātīli'l-muzmina. (554) Kinānatu'l-mabāhiṭh. (555) Malā-wisu'n-nufūsi'l-muwāsawisa al-jāliya 'an-hā li-kudūrāti'l-aqwālī'l-mulbisa. (556) Mawāḍi'l-qadḥ, a refutation of the rights of Dāwūd b. Quṭb-Shāh. (557) al-Muyāqqiza mina'n-naʿwam al-muwāqqifa 'alā ḍalālī'l-muḥdithīn li'l-bid'a fī's-ṣawm. (558) Mu'fiyatu'l-musta'fī mina'l-ḥajjāj. (559) al-Mūdiḥa li-barākhīn mu'jizati'l-ḥaqq. (560) al-Muḥdhira mina'l-ightirār bi'sh-shahādati'l-muzawwara. (561) al-Munira li-qulūb dhawī'l-īmān wa'l-baṣīra fī'r-radd 'alā ṣāhibi'r-risālati'l-Kabīra, composed in 1029/1620. (562) al-Mushriqa fī . . . ? al-ma'rifa. (563) al-Mutajarrida li'l-istinjāzi'l-'ida.*

(564) *Nāshirat alwiyati'l-ḥaqq wa a'lāmi-hi al-ākhidha minā'l-bāṭil bi-nawāṣi-hi wa aqdāmi-hi.* (565) *Nawādiru'l-akhbār*, divided into fourteen *bābs*. (566) *Nujūmu'l-'aqā'id al-munawwara wa rujūmu'sh-shahā'idī'l-muzawwara.* (567) *al-Qāṣima li-tamwīhātī'l-qaryati'z-zālīma.* (568) *al-Qāṭi'a li-watīnī'l-labīs fī'r-radd 'alā'l-muḡlibīn 'alā qānūnī'sh-sharī'atī'l-ghurrā' min dhawī't-tadlīs bi-qānūnī'l-millatī'l-bānyāniyya wa qiyās Iblīs.* (569) *ar-Rīḥu'l-'aqīm al-jā'ila li-mā ant 'alay-hi min talbīsāt Dāwūd b. Quṭb fī bid'atī's-ṣawm ka'r-ramīm.* (570) *Shukhubu'l-ḥaqqī'l-mursida 'alā talābīsī'l-mufrida.* (571) *Ṭalā'i'u'l-adillatī'l-bāhira al-muthkhina li'sh-shubahī'l-mudillatī'l-āsira.* (572) *K. at-Tanbīh*, sent to Miyā-jī Shaykh 'Abdu'l-lah. (573) *at-Ṭayru'l-abābīl al-mursala 'alā tamwīhāt Ismā'il.* (574) *Thawāqibu'sh-shukhub fī'r-radd 'alā Dāwūd b. Quṭb.* (575) *at-Tibyānu'l-marṣūs min mawāzīnī'n-nuṣūṣ.* (576) *Wāḍiḥatu'l-bayān fī 'ālī maḥall Sayyidi-nā Sulaymān.* (577) *Wāḍiḥatu'l-irshād wa kāmilatu'l-istishād.* (578) *al-Wujūhu'l-musaffara wa'l-barāhīnu'l-munawwara al-qāḍiya bi-butlāni da'wat Dāwūd b. Quṭb wa shahādat Adam b. Ṭayyib.* (579) *az-Zāhira dhātu'l-barāhīnī'l-bāhira.* (580) *Zubdu't-ṭurūsi'l-mukhbiratī'l-burhāniyya al-mu'arriba 'ani'n-nuṣūṣī'l-muqarraratī's-Sulaymāniyya.*

cxii. Sayyid-nā Diyā'u'd-dīn Isma'il b. Hibatī'l-lah b. Ibrāhīm, the 33rd Sulaymānī *dā'i*, d. the 16th Ṣafar, 1184/11-vi-1770.

(581) *K. al-Mazāj wa't-tasnīm*, completed in 1169/1756, see Griffini, p. 87, H. 76, where a copy dated 1173/1760, from the autograph, is mentioned.

cxiii. Malik Najmu'd-dīn b. Ṭayyib-'Alī, flourished in India towards the end of the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

(582) *Safīna*, an anthology of Sulaymānī and other poems and extracts. (583) *Majmū'u'l-masā'il*, dealing with various religious questions which were sent to the 42nd Sulaymānī

dā'ir, Aḥmad b. Isma'īl (d. 18th Jum. ii, 1306/19-ii-1889); one of them is the question whether there are references to America in the early religious Islamic literature. The autograph copy was written about Rab. ii, 1280/Sept., 1863.

cxiv. Muḥammad Aẓharu'd-dīn Ḥaydarābādī (doubtful whether he is the real author), flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth/twentieth century.

(584) *Akhbārī Sulaymānī wa āthāru'l-wikhānī*, in Urdu, a versified treatise on the origin of the split between the Sulaymanis and Dawudis, and a refutation of the latter, completed in Dh.Q., 1306/July, 1889. Lithographed in Bombay.

(585) *aṣ-Ṣaḥīfatu'l-Yamāniya*, a collection of prayers, of uncertain date.

(586) *Ṣaḥīfatu'ṣ-ṣalāt*, a collection of prayers, with explanations in Urdu, repeatedly lithographed in Bombay.

II. LITERATURE OF EASTERN ISMAILIS

C. NIZARIS

§ 1. THE BADAQSHANI SCHOOL OF NASIRI KHUSRAW

cxv. "Sayyid Nāṣir",¹ as he is known amongst the Ismailis of Central Asia, or Nāṣiri Khusraw, as he is generally known in Persian literature, really Abū Mu'in (or Abū Mu'ini'd-dīn) Nāṣir (probably for Nāṣiru'd-dīn) b. Khusraw b. Ḥārith al-Qubādiyānī al-Marwazī al-Balkhī al-Badakhshānī, etc., with the poetical surname *Hujjat*, according to his own statement in the *Dīwān*, was born about 394/1003-4, and died at the end of the fourth century A.H. or the eleventh century A.D. The usual date of his death, 481/1088, is as unreliable as other dates. For his biography see Browne's *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii, 218-46, where a bibliography is given.

Though much is written about him, his biography is rather obscure, and there is not even complete certainty that under his name there are not two or more different persons mixed together. According to the usual version, he set out, as he states in his *Safar-nāma*, on his journey to Egypt and to Mekka the 6th Jum. ii, 437/19-xii-1045, and returned to Marw the 26th Jum. ii, 444/23-x-1052. Though some believe that the *Safar-nāma*, as it exists now, is only a portion of a larger book on his travels, during which he came even so far as India, this notion seems to be quite fictitious. The Ismailis of Central Asia have no such tradition. On the other side, it seems almost certain that Nāṣiri Khusraw spent

¹ As mentioned above (p. 13, footnote 3), in his genuine works Nāṣiri Khusraw never mentions his being an Alide, though in different Persian works of later period he is given such noble descent. Most probably the cause of his becoming a "Sayyid" is entirely due to the corruption of his original honorary title, Sayyid-nā, which he, as one of the *hujjats*, or chief *dā'is* of al-Mustanshir, rightly possessed (just like Sayyid-nā *hujjatu'l-'Irāqayn* Hamidu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī, or Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyid Shirāzī). Thus, most probably, the coincidence of the end of this title with the initial syllable of his name, i.e. Sayyid-NĀ-NĀṣir, caused contraction into Sayyid-Nāṣir in rapid pronunciation, making him a descendant of 'Alī.

a considerable time in the Caspian provinces. He himself refers to this in his *Dīwān* (cf. Browne, op. cit., p. 225), and his contemporary, the author of the *K. bayāni'l-adyān* (ed. Schefer, text, p. 161), who wrote about 485/1092, mentions an important sect of his followers in Tabaristan, i.e. Mazandaran. It is remarkable that he does not state that this Nāṣiri Khusraw of Tabaristan (to whom he ascribes the works *Wajhu'd-dīn* and *Dalīlu'l-mutahayyirīn*) is the same person as N.Kh. of Yumgān; either he doubts their identity, or means that they are different. The language of the works ascribed to N.Kh. is so different that no decision can be arrived at from this side.

In Persia one not rarely hears that N.Kh. was a Ḥanafī, and verses in which he mentions in laudatory terms Abū Ḥanīfa Nu'mān, or simply Nu'mān, are quoted (cf. pp. 291, 348, 370 of the latest Tehran ed.). But it is highly probable that the Nu'mān referred to here is no one but Qādī Nu'mān, the famous *faqīh* of the Fatimides, and that there is no inconsistency on the part of N.Kh. in his attitude towards Sunnism. In the *Zādu'l-musāfir* (p. 421 of the Berlin printed ed.) he explicitly refers to Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijistānī, and to him he probably refers in his *Dīwān*, p. 177. In the same book, pp. 313-14, he refers in high terms to Sayyid-nā al-Mu'ayyid Shīrāzī. In his praises of al-Mustansīr bi'l-lah (ibid., p. 431) he says that there are at his throne "many Rāzīs, Khānīs, and Salmānīs" (*basī az Rāzī-yu az Khānī-yu Salmānī*), probably alluding to Abū Ḥatīm Rāzī also. With regard to his doctrine he is entirely in agreement with the Fatimide principles of the earlier period, especially in his *Wajhi dīn*. There is no mention of Nizār b. al-Mustansīr in his writings, and it is doubtful whether he was an active partisan of the Nizari branch of Ismailism. Only later on his followers joined the Alamutī *da'wat*, but when and how this happened—this we do not know. The reason why he is to be dealt with in the same section as the Nizaris is the fact that his works probably never were known to the Western Ismaili world; anyhow,

the Western or Musta'lian Ismailis in India knew nothing about him until recently when his works were published in Europe. Only a few of his works are still in existence, and there are very many works, obviously quite spurious, which are ascribed to him :—

(a) *Works which seem to be genuine.*

(587) *Dīwān*, studied by the late E. G. Browne (op. cit., pp. 227–243); was several times lithographed in Persia; the latest, printed edition, Tehran, 1929, together with Nos. 588, 589, and 603.

(588) *Rawshanā'ī-nāma*, probably the best known of N.Kh.'s works; it is an elementary versified treatise dealing with the principles of Ismailism (cf. Browne, *ibid.*, pp. 244–5); it was for the first time edited by the late H. Ethé, *ZDMG.*, vols. xxxiii and xxxiv, together with a lengthy introductory summary which most probably is an epitome by some one else, as only one MS. of the many known contains it. After this, from independent sources, it was lithographed in Bombay by Sayyid Munīr Badakhshānī (apparently about 1333/1915); then as an appendix to the Berlin edition of the *Safar-nāma* (q.v.); then with the *Dīwān*, as mentioned above; and ultimately by A. Semenov, in the fifth volume of the *Zapiski Kollegiyei Vostokoviedov* (a publication of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the successor of the earlier *Zapiski*), 1930, pp. 598–610.

(589) *Sa'ādat-nāma*, a versified treatise on ethics, see Browne, *ibid.*, pp. 245–6. Edited, with a French translation, by E. Fagnan, *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 643–674. It was also published, together with the *Rawshanā'ī-nāma*, as an appendix to the *Safar-nāma*, *Dīwān*, and in Sayyid Munīr's collection.

(590) *Wajhi dīn* (mentioned, as we have seen, by N.Kh.'s contemporary, the author of the *K. bayānī'l-adyān*); it is a treatise, in fifty-one *guftārs*, dealing with the dogma, customs, festivals, etc., of Ismailism, and giving *ta'wīl* of

different religious principles. The ideas and the language of the book seem to be extremely archaic, and differ very much from those of the other works by N.Kh. Besides, it seems as if the diction of the work indicates that it is a translation from Arabic. It is quite possible, of course, that it was originally written in Arabic by N.Kh., and afterwards turned into Persian by some of his disciples. For the headings of the chapters see W. Ivanow, "The Ismaili MSS. in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences," *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sc.*, 1917, pp. 365-8 (this work is to be referred to further on as "Iv."; it was briefly reviewed by Sir E. Denison Ross in the *JRAS.*, 1919, pp. 429-435); A. Semenov, "Description of the Ismaili MSS. collected by himself" (now in the same Asiatic Museum), *Bull. of Russ. Acad. of Sc.*, 1918, pp. 2171-2202 (this work is further on referred to as "Sem."); the same author also translated the 11th *guftār* into Russian, Tashkent, 1926; the work itself was printed by the Kaviani Press, Berlin, 1924, from only one Petersburg MS., described in Iv. (No. 2), as mentioned above; A. Semenov's copy, and the photostates from a copy which belonged to Sniesarev, and also were preserved in the same Museum, were ignored, leaving the text in a bad condition; the editors did not even take the trouble to compile any indexes; it would be extremely desirable to have the work re-edited critically.¹

(591) *Zādu'l-musāfir*, twice referred to in the *Dīwān* (pp. 305 and 330); its title is given in the printed edition as *Zādu'l-musāfirīn*; it was printed from the Cambridge and Paris MSS. in the Kaviani Press, Berlin, 1922, by Dr. Muḥammad Badhlū'r-Raḥmān, without any indexes, etc.

(592) *Safar-nāma*, mentioned above, the famous description of N.Kh.'s journey, first edited by C. Schefer, Paris, 1881, with a French translation; lith. in Bombay a long time ago; reprinted by the Kaviani Press, Berlin, 1922, together with

¹ Recently I acquired a copy of this work from Shughnān, which is about 200 years old, thus being the oldest known.

Nos. 588 and 589 and indexes (this is the best of the Kaviani Press publications of N.Kh.'s works).

(593) *Dalīlu'l-mutaḥayyirīn*, also mentioned in the *K. bayāni'l-adyān*, together with the *Wajhu'd-dīn*, apparently lost.

(594) *Khwāni ikhwān*, a MS. in the library of the Aya Sufiya mosque, Constantinople, No. 1778.

(b) *Apparently spurious works.*

(595) *Haft Bāb*, attributed to "Sayyid Nāṣir", called *Kalāmi Pīr*, and most revered by the Ismailis of Central Asia, but unknown in Persia, see Iv., No. 3, and Sem., No. 9, who gives a large extract from the beginning, and believes in the correctness of the authorship of N.Kh. (!); the work is divided into seven *bābs*: 1. on biography of N.Kh.; 2. on refutation of the seventy-two *firqas*; 3. proofs of the truth of Ismailism; 4. on *nubuwwat*, *waṣāyat*, *ta'wīl*, etc.; 5. on *Imāmat*, *dawri satr wa kashf*, and *qiyāmatu'l-qiyāmāt*; 6. on the *mabda'*, *ma'ād*, *'ālamī jismānī wa rūḥānī*; 7. some *ta'wīls*, and the different *fawā'id*. According to A. Semenov, this portion of the book almost completely coincides with some *ṣaḥīfas* of the *Ṣaḥīfatu'n-nāẓirīn*, see No. 611, by Suhrāb Walī, who lived in the ninth/fifteenth century. The work has nothing to do with N.Kh., and does not even belong to his school, but coincides with the Alamuti tradition. It was probably not composed before the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, because there are many works referred to which were written about that time. There are referred to: *Rawḍatu't-tasīm*, by Naṣīru'd-dīn Tūsī (see further No. 642); *'Umdatul-t-tālib (fī ansāb āl Abī Tālib)*, by Aḥmad b. 'Alī, surnamed Ibn 'Inaba, d. 825/1422, cf. Brock., ii, 199; and ultimately the *Laṭā'ifu't-tawā'if*, by 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Kāshifī, which was not written before 937/1530, etc. The doctrine of the *qiyāmatu'l-qiyāmāt* is a typical feature of the Alamuti *da'wat*. Two MSS. are in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (collections of Zarobin and of Semenov, both quite modern). There are several MSS. in Bombay; one of those which is at my disposal now is

about 120 years old. There is another version of the same work which is sometimes called by the sectarians *Haft bābi Abū Ishāq* (cf. also No. 641a). It coincides with the preceding in many passages; other passages appear to be an abbreviation, and some again are not found in the former. So far I have seen only one copy; it is quite probable that this may be a unique version, composed by some one who enlarged an incomplete copy of the preceding version. The beginning and the division into chapters is the same as in the original.

(596) *Kanzu'l-ḥaqā'iq*, referred to in the *Haft-bāb*, and in the biographical account of N.Kh. given in the *Ātash-kada* (cf. Browne, *ibid.*, p. 244); I was told by some Tajiks from the Upper Oxus that this book exists in their libraries, though they are not certain whether it is by N.Kh.

(597) *Iksīri a'zam*; (598) *Qānūni a'zam*; (599) *Dastūri a'zam* (one and the same work?), are mentioned in the *Ātash-kada*; I was told by the same Tajiks that they know only the *Iksīri a'zam*, which is printed, and is not an Ismaili book at all. It is, however, mentioned by Ḥajji Khalīfa.

(600) *K. al-Mustawfī* (?), also mentioned in the *Ātash-kada*.

(601) *Tafsīri Qur'ān*, also mentioned there. Ismailism generally knows no *tafsīrs*, as we have seen in the introduction. The Tajiks who visited the shrine of N.Kh. in Yumgān, near Jarm, told me that there is in it a copy of the Coran, which was transcribed by N.Kh. himself (it is not clear whether this is stated on the copy or is merely a local tradition). Quite possibly this copy attributed to N.Kh. may have an interlinear translation into Persian, and this has given the start to the legend of the *Tafsīr*.

(602) *Mir'ātu'l-muḥaqqiqīn*, the well-known treatise, divided into seven *bābs*, on *nafs*, *'aql*, *mabda' wa ma'ād*, *'ālamī buzurg*, and *'ālamī kūchik*, etc. The headings in different copies are differently worded. Usually it is attributed to Naṣīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī; MSS. of it are very common in the East. Lithographed in Bombay, about A.H. 1333, by Sayyid Munīr Badakhshānī as an appendix to his *Khayr-khwāh*, q.v. There were probably other editions in Persia, but I cannot trace them at present.

(603) *Risāla dar jawābi nuwad wa yak faqara*, published together with the *Diwān*, pp. 563–583. It seems to be rather doubtful, though at the end it is stated that it was composed in 422/1031 for the Amīr of Badakhshān with a strange name, ‘Alī b. al-Aḥmad Mawlā Amīrī’l-mu’minīn. The language is archaic, but there are very few Ismaili ideas in it.

(604) *Bustānu’l-‘aql*, referred to in the preceding work (p. 572) as one of the author’s own compositions.

(605) *R. Āfāq wa unfus*, or *Āfāq-nāma*, see Iv., 371 (and Sem., 2183, which is probably the same work), on microcosmos and macrocosmos.

(606) *Irshādu’s-sālikīn*, see Iv., 373. A didactic *mathnawī* poem, ascribed, probably quite falsely, to N.Kh. The language is modern ; no division into chapters.

(607) *R. dar Da’watī rūḥāniyān wa tashkīrī kawākib*, on magic ; plainly spurious. Published at the end of the volume, containing the *Rawshanā’i-nāma* and *Sa’adat-nāma*, ed. by Sayyid Munīr Badakhshānī (cf. Nos. 588 and 589).

(608) *Uṣūlī ādāb*, according to the information received from some Tajiks from Shughnan. It is a short treatise, divided into seven *bābs* or *faṣls*, dealing with: *tawḥīd*, *banā’i Musalmānī*, *nubuwwat*, *walāyat*, *amrī ma’rūf*, *nahyi munkar*, and *tawallā*. Perhaps it is the same treatise as No. 613, No. 625, or No. 628.

(609) *Shish faṣli Sayyid Nāṣir*, a short treatise, 70 pages octavo long, written in a fairly archaic style much similar to that of the *Wajhi dīn*. It does not contain a proper title, but the name of N.Kh., and even a reference to al-Mustanṣir bi’l-lah appears here. It is divided into six *faṣls*: 1. *dar shinākhti tawḥīd*; 2. *dar kalāma’i Bārī subḥāna-hu wa ta’ālā*; 3. *dar nafsi kull wa jinsi ū*; 4. *dar paydā āmadani nafsi mardum bā ‘aql*; 5. *dar wājib dāshtani nātiq*; 6. *dar thawāb wa ‘iqāb wa sharḥi ān*.¹

¹ Beg. سپاس خداي را که نامهايش پيداست و معنیش پوشيده) و از راه آفرينش آشکاراست... آغاز کتاب پيرسيدند گروهی از بنده کان امام حق الخ.

(610) *Gauhar-rīz*, on the same authority, a large book of N.Kh.'s adventures, different from the *Safar-nāma*. Most probably it is one of the versions of the same fantastic novel, which is the basis of N.Kh.'s biography in the *Ātash-kada*, cf. Browne, op. cit., p. 218 sqq. The contents that my informers who read it could remember are N.Kh.'s experience in the localities in Badakhshān, Zebak, Wakhān, Shughnān, etc.

cxvi. Sayyid Suhrāb Walī, who, according to the local tradition of the Ismailite Central Asia, was a disciple of Nāṣiri Khusraw, really lived in the ninth/fifteenth century, as in his work he mentions that he was writing in 856 (or 857), i.e. 1452-3. Nothing apparently is known about his biography.

(611) *Ṣaḥīfatu'n-nāẓirīn*, also known as thirty-six *ṣaḥīfas*, into which it is divided (see Iv., 375-7, and Sem., 2190-2), where the initial lines and a passage relating to the date is quoted. Many quotations from the poetry of N.Kh. It would be interesting to examine this work more closely and to see whether there are any quotations from the *prose* works of N.Kh.

(612) *Rawḍatu'l-mu'allimīn*, mentioned in the preceding work as another composition by the same author, see Sem., 2190, footnote 2.

(a) *Works belonging to the Badakhshani tradition, the dates of composition of which are unknown*

(613) *Bayāni haft arkāni sharī'at*, a very short treatise on the elementary prescriptions of the religion: *shahādat*, *tahārat*, *namāz*, *rūza*, *zakāt*, *ḥajj*, and *Imāmi zamān*, see Sem., 2179, v, where the initial lines are quoted. Cf. No. 628.

(614) *Bayāni kalāmi Amīru'l-mu'minīn*, a short treatise in catechetical form, dealing with questions of ethics, psychology, etc.; ascribed to 'Alī himself, see Sem., 2184, xv.

(615) *Bayāni shinākhti haft ḥudūdi dīn*, a short treatise of two pages only, explaining what is Imam, *ḥujjat*, *dā'ir*, etc. The author and the date of composition are unknown. Beg. *al-Ḥamd*, etc. *Ammā ba'd*: *bāyad īn ki gufta shawad*,

barādarāni mu'min, etc. At the end a long extract from a *mathnavī* poem by 'Aṭṭār, probably having nothing to do with the work.

(616) *Dah naṣīḥati Amīru'l-mu'minīn*, advising the faithful to recite the Coran, see Sem., 2180, ix.

(617) *R. d. Dunyā wa ākhirat*, a short treatise on moral principles, the Ismaili element in it being rather feeble. Many poetical quotations, especially from Ḥāfiẓ. The latest poet whose poetry is quoted here apparently is Qāsimi Anwār (d. ca. 837/1434).¹

(618) *Hikāyat az ḥaḍrati Payghambar*, a didactic story from the life of the Prophet, see Sem., 2180, viii.

(619) *Ma'nā ismi mubāraki ḥaḍrati Rasūl*, another short didactic treatise, in the form of an explanation of letters from which the name of Muḥammad is composed in writing. Quotations of Nāṣiri Khusraw's poetry.

(620) *Maṭlūbu's-sā'itīn*, a collection of ninety (in reality eighty-seven) *mas'alas*, on various ethical and religious matters, explanation of Ismaili terms, etc. The name of the author and the date of composition are not mentioned.

(621) *Naṣā'ihī mu'min*, a treatise, of about 140 pages, dealing with elementary doctrine of Ismailism in a strictly Western Ismaili way, entirely coinciding with the doctrine of Nāṣiri Khusraw (*nāṭiq*, *asās*, seven *Imāms*, twenty-four *ḥujjats* of day and night, and even with an early doctrine about the *jadd*, *fath*, and *khayāl*). It is strange, therefore, to see that Sa'dī's poems are frequently quoted. There are also poetical quotations from other authors, but their names are not given. There is no division into *bābs* or *faṣls*. The language is rather that of Persia, not of Badakhshan.²

¹ Beg. قال رسول الله صلعم فرموده (sic) الدنيا حرام على اهل الخ. الآخر الخ.

² Beg. شکر و سیاس یقیاس و درود (نا) معدود . . . اما بعد، بر ضمیر منیر. دوستان راه مولانا روشن و هویدا باد، و بعد در خبر است از آن مقتدای زمره حقیقت الخ.

(622) *Nūr-nāma*, one of the numerous versions of the legend of the creation of the Light of Muḥammad as the first created substance, see Sem., 2181-2, xiii. In this version, which seems quite modern, there are traces of the influence of Hinduistic elements of the Khoja form of Ismailism, giving the story of what may be called prehistorical Divine missions (wrongly called "incarnations").

(623) *Risāla'i dīn wa madhhab*, apparently a sort of prayer and invocation of the Imāms, followed by some questions and answers on religious matters, see Sem., 2178, iii.

(624) *Risāla'i Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq*, a short treatise, 16 pages long, on the elementary principles of Muhammadanism, ethics, and, in a very slight way, of Ismaili doctrine.

(625) *R. Sāda*, or *Risāla dar bābi uṣūlī dīn*, a short treatise of about 26 pages, divided into five *mas'alas* and twelve *faṣls*; the first five are on *tawḥūd*, 'adl, *nubuwwat*, *imāmat*, and *ma'ād*; the twelve *faṣls* explain what is *Awḥāl*, *Thānī*, *nātiq*, *Imām*, *ḥujjat*, *dā'i*, etc. (this portion of the treatise is separately called *Risāla'i marātīb*, or *Marātibi wuḥūd*), see Sem., 2179, vi, where in the second half only eleven *faṣls* are given.

(626) *R. Sharḥu'l-marātīb*, a short explanation of the *ḥudūd*, see Sem., 2178, iv.

(627) *R. d. Ta'wīl*, a rather lengthy treatise on Ismaili doctrine, being a chaotic accumulation, as stated in itself, of *fawā'id* *mutafarriqa*, neither in purely the Badakhshani style nor in Alamuti. It is extremely vague and diffuse, giving nothing new or original. No indications of the name of the compiler or of the date of composition.¹

(628) *Ta'wīl* *haft arkāni shar'i'at*, apparently the same work as No. 613 (Sem., 2179, v), divided into seven *mas'alas*, and dealing with exactly the same seven chief principles of Muhammadanism; the beginning, however, is different, and thus identity cannot be established at present.

¹ اما بعد، بر ضمیر منبر مبحان راه حقّه (sic) مخفی) ماناد که این
گفتارهای متفرق که در این (رساله) درج شده و میشود الخ

(629) *Ta'wīlātī Gulshani Rāz*, an interpretation, in an Ismailitic spirit, of some passages from the well-known summary of Sufic doctrine, the *Gulshani Rāz*, by Maḥmūdī Shabistārī. A review of the work is given by W. Ivanow, see *JBBRAS.* 1932, pp. 69-78.¹

(630) *Ummu'l-khiṭāb*, said to be a well-known work on Ismailism in Chitral, Hunza, etc.

(631) *Waṣīyyat-nāma'ī ḥadrati Rasūl*, see Sem., 2180, x, on omens.

(632) *Zubdatu'l-ḥaqā'iq*, by 'Azīz Nasafī(?), see Sem., 2187-8, on philosophical matters, mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfa (iii, p. 536, as given by Semenov). It is obviously the well-known Sufic philosophical treatise, usually called *K. Mabda' wa ma'ād*, by 'Azīz b. Muḥammad an-Nasafī, d. 661/1262-3, see W. Ivanow, *A Concise Descriptive Cat. of the Persian MSS. in the Curzon* (i.e. the so-called "Government") *Collection in the As. Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1926, No. 415. Thus it has nothing to do, really, with Ismailism, and is included here only because the Ismailis of Central Asia regard this work as belonging to their literature.²

(b) *Modern Works belonging to the Badakhshani Tradition.*

cxvii. Sayyid Shāhzāda Munīr b. Muḥammad Qāsim Badakhshānī, who claims to be a descendant of Sayyid Suhrāb Walī, cf. cxvi, a native of Shughnān, now about fifty years old. Being a devoted Ismaili, he worked up himself to a real frenzy and declared himself an incarnation of Nāṣiri Khusraw. He was sent to Bombay and thence to Zanzibar, where he resides at present. Although regarded as an exceptionally learned man amongst his co-religionists in

¹ Beg. *حمد و سپاس مر پادشاهیرا که آثار قدرت او بیهمتاست و ذره خال*.
از قدرت او گویاست چنانکه در کلام مجید الخ

² Since this was written I succeeded to get a copy of this work from Shughnān. There is no doubt that the book is the same as the Calcutta copy, and the name of 'Azīz Nasafī is mentioned in it. It was apparently lithographed in Persia, some thirty years ago, under the title *Risāla dar Mabda' wa ma'ād*.

Central Asia, he apparently never received a proper education ; his knowledge of Arabic is poor, and he is not strong even in Persian orthography.

(633) *Khayr-khwāhi muwakhḥidi waḥdat*, a treatise on Ismaili doctrine, 98 pages long, lithographed in Bombay, 1333/1915. It is not divided into chapters, and presents a rather chaotic collection of moral rules, explanations of religious matters, poetical quotations, etc. It is said in the beginning that the doctrine was so far kept secret, but that now permission has been received to make it known to all. Therefore the author intends to explain its spirit and letter ; the *mulḥid* is one who has left the *ẓāhir* of the religious letter, but failed to reach the *bāṭin* or the higher meaning of its spirit. It is like a long sermon, and is written with more devotion than skill.

cxviii. Ḥakīm Muḥammad Fayḍu'l-Ḥasan Salīm Wārithi as-Sahaswānī.

(634) *Iẓḥārī ḥaqīqat*, parts i and ii, in Urdu, lithographed some ten years ago in Bombay. The work contains the usual appeals to be pious and righteous, and explains various points of religious doctrine ; it gives quite enough in the way of polemic also, refuting the claims of the Musta'lians. The first part is a small booklet of 16 pages only, small size ; it is out of print now, and very scarce. The second is 136 pages long, and is almost entirely devoted to the controversy between the two branches of Ismailism.

cxix. Sayyid Nādir Shāh (or Khān) b. Gauhar Khān Kayānī, the present Mukhī of Kabul. He is a petty tribal headman in the Pashai-speaking territory north of Kabul, is just over thirty years of age, writes poetry in somewhat peculiar Persian, which is not his mother tongue.

(635) *Dīwān*, lithographed in Bombay, came out of the press 3-iv-1932, 128 pp., with a photograph of the author looking queer in an Arab dress (which was specially sent to

him for the occasion from Bombay). The editor, his relation, Sayyid Ḥusayn Jalālābādī (whose Persian is extremely poor), explains in the short preface that the author started writing poetry when he was 10 years old, and on arriving at the age of 25 he had a large *dīwān*; this, however, was lost in the period of anarchy during recent years in Afghanistan; some of the lost poems were recovered and are printed here. As the editor adds, his poetry *agar chi ba uṣūli shi'rī chandān mutābiq nīst, ma'ānīyi ān-rā ham juz 'ulamāyi 'irfān-maslak wa rūḥānī kasī dīgar dark na-mī-tuvānad namūd*. In fact, many passages are entirely unintelligible because the original irregularities of the poet's Persian are badly aggravated by superficial proof-reading.

§ 2. THE PERSIAN OR ALAMUTI SCHOOL

cxx. "Bābā Sayyid-nā," or Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, or Ḥasan b. Ṣabbāḥ, whose full name was al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Ḥusayn b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥimyarī, d. 518/1124. For his biography see Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-210, where other works are referred to.

(636) *al-Fuṣūlu'l-arba'a*,¹ quoted by ash-Shahrastānī in his *K. al-Milal wa'n-niḥal*. Recently a Persian translation of this passage was prepared by the same Sayyid Munīr (see cxvii), under the title *Chahār faṣḥi Bābā Sayyid-nā*.

(637) *Haft bābi Bābā Sayyid-nā*, said to exist in Central Asia, a small booklet (?).

(638) *Ashkālul-qurā'* (?).

(639) *Sarguzashṭi Sayyid-nā*, the famous biography or autobiography of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, probably on the lines of the

¹ The terms *faṣḥ* or *fuṣūl* were apparently used in medieval Persian Ismailism in the same sense as *risāla*. It is quite possible that, if the information of Shahrastani is correct, this was not one single work but a collection of four short treatises. Though there are frequent references to Bābā Sayyid-nā in the medieval Ismaili works, so far I never found any title of a book by him. It is quite possible that his instruction was given in the form of epistles addressed to some of his subordinates, as it was quite a common practice in the Fatimide period.

usual Ismaili *sīrats*, the basis of the accounts of H.S.'s life in the *Ta'rikhi Juwaynī* and in the *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh* by Rashīdu'd-dīn. Cf. the paper on the subject by H. Bowen in the *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 771-782 (the author offers different guesses as to how it happened that the version of Rashīdu'd-dīn, who did not peruse the *Sarguzasht*, seems to be nearer to it than that of Atā Malik Juwaynī, who used it. The explanation is most probably to be found in the reports about Rashīdu'd-dīn's having used information for his history derived from competent representatives of the corresponding religions and nations. It is quite possible that he found for his purposes a well-informed Ismaili who knew well the contents of the book or, perhaps, even had a copy). The work is known to the Ismailis of Central Asia, and they assured me that there is such a book, but from what they told me about its contents it seems to be a fantastic story similar to the pseudo-autobiography of Nāṣiri Khusraw.

cxxi. Ḥasan 'alā *dhikri-hi's-salām* (or, as the Ismailis themselves call him, Ḥasan-'Alī, or simply 'Alī *dhikru-hu's-salām*), the first *khudāwand* of Alamut, 557-561/1162-6. According to different historians he composed many religious works for his followers.

(640) Some of his *ash'ār* are quoted in No. 656, if the name Ra'īs Ḥasan belongs to him.

(640a) *Fuṣūl*, or *Fuṣūli mubārak*, are frequently attributed to him, especially in Nos. 595 and 641a, most probably some sort of epistles, decrees, or proclamations. In No. 641a are mentioned *Faṣl ba Amīr Ḥaydar* (i) *Mas'ūd* and *Faṣli qāḍī Mas'ūd* (one and the same work?). In No. 595 on one occasion is mentioned *Nāma'i Ḥasan 'Alī dhikru-hu's-salām*.

cxxii. Mawlā-nā Muḥammad *dhikru-hu'* (i.e. *li-dhikri-hi*) 's-sujūd *wa't-tasbīh*, apparently one of the *khudāwands* of Alamut, judging from the nature of the invocation accompanying his name. Muḥammad was the son of Ḥasan (or

Hasan-‘Alī, as we have seen), and died in 607/1210 ; he was perhaps surnamed ‘Alā’u’d-dīn, like his grandson, who also was Muḥammad, but this may be due to confusion ; he was also called Naw-Musalmān for his conciliatory policy in religious matters.

(641) *Risāla dar naṣīhat*, a short sermon with admonitions of moral character, and frequent references to Mawlā-nā ‘Alī *dhikru-hu’s-sujūd* (systematically so), and a few quotations of apparently really old poetry. Very doubtful whether it is genuine. It occupies less than six small pages, and is not divided into *bābs* or *faṣls*.¹

cxvii a. Abū Ishāq. Who this Abū Ishāq was, or whether he was the author of the book, is uncertain ; this name is often applied to the *Haft-bāb*, which is usually ascribed to Nāṣiri Khusraw. There is no local tradition in Central Asia as to where and when he lived ; most probably therefore he was living in Persia, if he had anything at all to do with this work.

(641a) *Haft-bābi Abū Ishāq*, an interesting work, obviously of the strict Alamuti school, though copies of it are common in Badakhshan.

The work is 44 pages long, of ordinary octavo,² and is divided into seven *bābs*: 1. *dār ma’nāyi ān-ki khalq wahm wa pindāshṭi khūd-rā ba Khudāy mī-dārānd* ; 2. *dār ma’nāyi ān-ki ‘azz wa ‘alā ba šūrati khāṣṣi khūd dar īn ‘ālam zuhūrī dārād ki mardum-rā badīn šūrat ‘azīz karda ast* ; 3. *dār ma’nāyi ān-ki dar dawr-hā ān shakhṣi mubārak kīst, wa dar kuja*

¹ Beg. اللهم يا مولانا، از الفاظ گهر بار خداوند زمان محمد ذکره السجود و التسيح فرموده است که رفیقان و بنده گان مولانا کسا نیکه در هندوستان و ترکستان و دیلمان و خراسان و بدخشان و رودبار و قصران و مصریان و شامات و اشکور (?) جیعاً احسن الله احوالهم الخ

² Beg. اما بعد، این کلمات چند تحریر افتاد در بیان مطلب آنکه غرض از گفتن این دیوان مبارکه [و] حمد و ثنای مولانا جل قدره، والا این کمترین بنده گان را چه حد بوده است که از گفتن این کلمات الخ

nishīnad, wa chi nām dārad ; 4. *dar ma'nāyi bāz namūdani 'ālami jismānī wa chigūnagīyi ān* ; 5. *dar ma'nāyi bāz namūdani 'ālami rūhānī wa sifati ahli taqādd wa ahli tarattub wa ahli waḥdat* ; 6. *dar ma'nāyi nazm kardani īn dīwān, wa ḥamd wa thanā'i Khudāwand (li-)dhikri-hi's-sujūd wa tasbīḥ gharādi kullī khūdi īn bāb ast* ; 7. *dar ma'nāyi ta'rīkh wa chigūnagīyi aḥwālī ān*. The last *bāb* deals with the date of the *Qiyāmatu'l-qiyāmāt*, or the Great Resurrection, according to different eras, but in my MS. is apparently very incomplete and confused. It appears, anyhow, that the work was composed about forty years after the proclamation of the *Qiyāmāt* at Alamut, thus in the concluding years of the sixth/twelfth century. Its language is quite in consonance with that period, and there are many quotations from the works of Bābā Sayyid-nā and Ḥasan-'Alī *dhikru-hu's-salām*. It was probably perused by the compilers of Nos. 642 and 595.

cxiii. Khwāja Naṣīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī, the famous philosopher, astronomer, and theologian, d. the 18th Dh.Ḥ., 672/25-vi-1274 ; see about him and his works, W. Ivanow, "An Ismailitic Work by Nasīru'd-dīn Tūsī," in the *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 527-564.

(642) *Rawḍatu't-tasīm*, sometimes also called *Taṣawwūr*, because it is divided into twenty-eight *taṣawwurs* or chapters. For a detailed analysis of the contents see the paper just mentioned above.

(643) *Maṭlūbu'l-mu'minīn*, also ascribed to him. In Sem., 2178, ii, where apparently the same work is mentioned, the name of the author does not appear. It is difficult to ascertain whether the work is genuine or not. It is divided into four *faṣls* : 1. *mabda' wa ma'ād* ; 2. *mu'minī Isma'īlī* ; 3. *tawallā wa tabarru'* ; 4. *haft arkānī sharī'at* ; the initial passage is given in Sem., 2178, ii, where the wording is slightly different.

cxiv. Farīdu'dīn 'Aṭṭār, the famous Sufic poet, d. ca. 627/1230. His works are well known, but in addition to these there are many spurious ones which may have been composed

by others, under the name of 'Aṭṭār. We have no means now of deciding whether 'Aṭṭār was a real Ismaili or not: Sufic ideas hardly can be distinguished from the Ismaili ideas under the *taḳīyya*. Some of the well-known works of the poet, such as, for instance, *Asrār-nāma* or *Jawharu'dh-dhāt*, are read by the Ismailis as their own religious books. Some others, not so authentic, like *Mazharu'dh-dhāt* or *Lisānu'l-ghayb*, if they really are by 'Aṭṭār, may be genuine Ismaili works.

(644) *Mathnawīyi Shaykh 'Aṭṭār*, see Iv., 379-383. It seems to be a genuine work by 'Aṭṭār, and shows also genuine Ismaili ideas. Nothing can be decided until another copy containing the title, which is missing in this, is found. The work is divided into thirty *jawābs*, or replies to questions of a person whom the author calls *pīri sālik*. They deal in appearance with the usual topics of Sufic and didactic poetry, and the Ismaili ideas appear only in details, as, for instance, in the works by Nizārī.

CXXV. Ḥakīm Na'īmu'd-dīn b. Jalālī'd-dīn Quhistānī, with the *takhalluṣ* Nizārī of Birjand (where there are still many Ismailis), born about 645/1247, as he mentions himself in the *Dastūr-nāma*, and died *ca.* 720/1320. His works are exceedingly rare; I made special inquiries from some Tajiks of Central Asia, and all of them assured me that his works are lost, and that they have never seen any of them except a few *qaṣīdas*. In reality, however, there is preserved in the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg an excellent old copy of his *kullīyyat*, dated 837/1433, besides a copy of his *Dastūr-nāma* in the Bodleian Library, a portion of his *Dīwān* in the Asiatic Museum, St. Petersburg, and other extracts in the British Museum. Of these the *Dastūr-nāma* was edited and translated (into Russian) by E. Bertels (see the *Vostochniy Sbornik*, St. Petersburg, 1926, pp. 37-104), together with a short introduction from which the present information is chiefly derived.

(645) *Dīwān*, consisting of *qaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *tarjī'-bands*,

qiṭ'as, and short *mathnawīs* (one of them is in praise of Shamsi dīn, i.e. Shamsu'd-dīn Shāh Nīmruz 'Alī, most probably the first post-Alamuti Imam, Shamsu'd-dīn, son of Ruknu'd-dīn Khūrshāh, who was a boy of seven at the time of the death of the latter).

(646) *Adab-nāma*, about 60 large pages long.

(647) *Mathnawī*, without a special title, beginning with an address to Sharafu'd-dīn "*Hakīmi 'aṣr*" (perhaps instead of "*Imāmi 'aṣr*"?). Another *mathnawī* after it.

(648) *Safar-nāma*, probably the most interesting of all his poems, giving a poetical description of his journey from his native Quhistān, i.e. Birjand or Khūsf, to Adharbayjan, where, according to the sectarian tradition, the Imam was hiding. The late Professor C. Salemann intended to publish this poem, but his death prevented him.

(649) *Dastūr-nāma*, which was edited and translated by E. Bertels, as stated above. It contains altogether 576 *bayts*. It deals with various ethical and religious matters, expressed, however, with exceptional skill in concealment, so that those who are not familiar with Ismailitic literature may feel that the poem is not really Sufic, but that quite obviously it cannot be Ismaili in any case. The Ismailis, however, reading it, recognize it at once, because there are many passages which could be written only by a devout Ismaili. No wonder that the young editor of the text was completely led astray.

(650) *Azhar wa muzhir* (*Azhar wa mazhar*?), a long *mathnawī* poem in the same metre as Nizāmī's *Khusraw-u Shīrīn*.

(651) *Rubā'īyyāt*, a collection of quatrains.

cxxvi. Imām al-Mustanshir bi'l-lah II, who flourished probably in the early Timuride period.

(652) *Pandiyāti jawān-mardī*, a small treatise, containing admonitions to piety, and especially emphasizing the spiritual advantages derived from payment of the religious tax. According to the tradition of the Ismailis, this treatise was written by its author at the request of the Indian converts,

and sent to their country as a *hujjat* of the Imam, indicating the right way. It was printed in a Gujrati transliteration in Persian, with a Gujrati translation, some twenty years ago in Bombay.

cxvii. Mawlā-nā 'Abdu's-salām, according to the Ismaili tradition, the son of the preceding author; he probably flourished under Timurides, or early Safawides.

(653) *Qaṣīda*, ascribed to him, found in an anthology.¹

cxviii. Mawlā-nā Shāh Khalīlu'l-lah (the first?). There were two Imams with the name Khalīlu'l-lah, one probably flourished in the later Safawide period, and the other was assassinated by fanatics in Yazd in the reign of Fath-'Alī Shāh Qājār. Most probably here the first one is intended.

(654) *Kalāmi Shāh Khalīlu'l-lah*; it is nothing but the Sermon on the Mount of the Gospel, into which here and there some Coranic verses are inserted.

cxix. An Ismaili author who wrote about 959/1552.

(655) *R. d. 'aqā'idī Isma'īlī*, a treatise on the principles of Ismailism, emphasizing their similarity to the doctrine of Sufism, written, as one may gather from the text, in 959/1552, or about that time. There are many poetical quotations, but none of them makes the date as given here impossible. See Iv., 377-9.

cxx. Another unknown author who flourished about the same period.

(656) *Ma'dinu'l-asrār*, as the Ismaili Tajiks call it, or as it is called in the title of the copy which belongs to the St. Petersburg collection, see Iv., 372, x, *Faṣl dar bayāni*

¹ Beg.

الا ای طالب وحدت که میگوئی که جویایم
کلام از من شنو زیرا کتاب الله گویایم

shinākhti Imām wa Hujjat.¹ It was edited with a translation and notes by W. Ivanow, "Ismailitica I," in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. viii, 1922, pp. 1-49. From the indications in the text it is possible to think that the work was composed some time between A.H. 963 and 1000.

cxxxi. Amrī, who mentions in one of his poems that it was composed at the end of Šafar, 987, i.e. end of April, 1579. Thus he obviously is the same person as the little-known Persian poet Qāsim Amrī Shīrāzī, who was executed on the charge of heresy in Shīrāz in 999/1591, as mentioned in the *Riyādu'sh-shu'arā*, by 'Alī-Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī, see my *Conc. Descr. Cat. of the Persian MSS. in the Curzon* (or "Government") *Collection, Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 31, No. 214.

(657) *Ash'ār*, several *ghazals*, preserved in a poetical album. All of them are written with extreme care not to reveal anything, and their language is very obscure. The author probably had come in collision with the orthodox fanaticism not on one occasion only, because in one of his poems he fears that he *again* will have to suffer. From very elusive incidental allusions it is possible to conjecture that his intention was to praise Nūru'd-dīn and Murād-Mirzā, according to the traditional sequence the 35th and the 36th Imams.²

cxxxi. An unknown author who wrote in 1043/1633.

(658) *R. d. Bayāni sharī'at*, an interesting treatise on Ismaili doctrine, see Iv., 374, xvi. It is written in a strong Sufic

¹ The term *hujjat*, as used in this work, has nothing to do with its sense as it is used in the Badakhshānī works of Nāsiri Khusraw and others, where the twenty-four *hujjats* of the day and night mean nothing but chief *dā'īs* in different provinces. Here the *hujjat* is a mystical satellite of the Imam and his spiritual complement.

² Beg. of the collection :

ابتدای سخن ز اهل کمال، هست ذکر ملک و جل جلال

Another *qaṣīda* beg.

دمید صبح سعادت زمشرق انوار، گریخت لشکر هندی شب پس دیوار

spirit, typical of that time, and although the author originally intended to divide his work into four *wasls* there is apparently no division at all. Many poetical quotations.

cxixiii. Khākī Khurāsānī, whose real name was Imām-Qulī Dizbādī, the highly revered author and martyr of the Ismailis of Northern Persia, but almost entirely unknown in Central Asia. His grave in his native Dizbādī-bālā, a village in the hills, half-way between Mashhad and Nishāpūr, is still much revered. He gives the date of his poems mostly as 1055/1645. The local tradition, as Persian popular tradition does with everything remarkable, connects him with "Shāh 'Abbās"; if this is true it should be 'Abbās the Second (1052-1077/1642-1667).

(659) *Nigāristān*, in the form of a lengthy *qaṣīda* in a religious and didactic strain. It is not clear whether the title belongs to a series of poems or whether they were gathered incidentally, and only one of them is to be called *Nigāristān*. Altogether there are about 980 *bayts* in a highly vague Sufic strain; it is possible to recognize, however, that the author speaks about the Imamāt, *ta'wīl*, etc.¹

(660) *Tarjī-band*, about 120 *bayts*, in a similar style.²

(661) *Bahāristān*, a *qaṣīda* of about seventy-nine *bayts*. It is divided into five *faṣls*: 1. symbolism of numbers in the Universe; 2. Adam and Satan; 3. on piety, *dawrs*, etc.; 4. *iqrār* and *inkār* of the *Ḥaqq*; 5. *dīn*.³

(662) *Ṭulū'ūsh-shams*, or *Ṭawālī'ūsh-shumūs*, a lengthy *mathnawī* poem of about 1,300 *bayts*, composed in 1055/1645. It is divided into seven *bābs*: 1. Imām, or *Shāhī zamān*; 2. *Imāmi mustaqīrr*; 3. *Imāmi mustawda'*; 4. *fawā'idī mutafarriqa*; 5. *mabda' wa ma'ād*; 6. *khātima'i maktūb*; 7. on *Lā-makān* (God). In my copy this seventh *bāb* is nothing

¹ Beg. سالک بدانکه اسعدک الله دارنا ذاتی که هست و باشد بودست دایما

² Beg. گویم شب و روز و گاه و بیگاه دست من و دامن تو یا شاه

³ Beg. فصل بهار و موسم گل بنده بینوا دیدم که گل بعشوه و بلبل بصد نوا

but a substantial part of the second *bāb*. The contents of this work, though sufficiently veiled in vague Sufic phraseology, come remarkably close to those of the *Ma'dimu'l-asrār*, see No. 656, and it is quite possible that there is some connection between the two, and that Imām-Qulī was acquainted with that work. Many references to different Sufic poets and writers: Rūmī, Ḥāfīz, Ḥusaynī Sādāt, 'Aṭṭār, Thanā'ī (or Sanā'ī ?).¹

(663) *Dīwān*, the most famous of the works of this author. It consists of a collection of *ghazals* in the usual "alphabetic" arrangement, altogether about 2,200 *bayts*. After this there are given *tarjī'-bands*, *qaṣīdas*, short *mathnawīs*. There are no *qit'as*, no quatrains. Almost all these poems are in praise of Dhū'l-fiqār 'Alī, the 37th Imām according to the official version of the pedigree, who was the Imām of that time. Some other poems are dedicated to his son, the 38th Imām, Nūru'd-dīn (or -dahr) 'Alī. The *Dīwān* of the *ghazals* seems to be the original part of the collection, while in the later part some poems were obviously added by later copyists, with a heading: *Khākī, 'alay-hi'r-rahmat*. At the end there is a poem written in old dialect of Khorasan (similar to that of Nayyir and Fayyād, see W. Ivanow, "Some Poems in Sabzawari Dialect," *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 1-41), and an *'arīda*, to Shāh 'Abbās, complaining about the tortures to which the poet was subjected by some officials of that Shah. This, as I was told, unfortunately was not copied from some old MS., but was written anew from the dictation of some local "old men" who knew it by heart. The *Tarjī'-band* mentioned above under No. 660, which is the best known and longest amongst the *tarjī'-bands* of Khākī, and both the *qaṣīdas Bahāristūn* and *Nigāristān* are also included here.²

¹ Beg. 'حمد بىحد نىاى بىپىان' برخداوند كار كون مكان

² Beg. 'شاهاتوئى مولاي ما امروز هم فرداي ما'
از دى چه گويم كو گشت فردا وهم حالاي ما'

cxixiv. Raqqāmī Khurāsānī, whose name was 'Alī-Qulī b. Imām-Qulī Dizbādī, the son of the preceding author, and himself a poet. He flourished towards the end of the eleventh/seventeenth century. Of all his poems only one is known (with continuation by later editors, and apparently much modified):

(664) *Qaṣīda'i Dhurriyya*, a poem giving a versified chain of the Imams. The beginning of it was printed in W. Ivanow's *Ismā'īlītica* (II), pp. 73-6, where the name of the author on a badly worn and mutilated slip of paper of the original appeared in an illegible form something like R-q-a-t, and was read by the local Ismailis as Riqāt. A. Semenov published a full text, as it is at present, with some notes and a Russian translation, see *Iran* (an Orientalistic periodical published by the Russian Academy of Sciences), ii, 1928, pp. 1-24. The editor wrongly ascribes it to Khākī, i.e. the father of the author. In his translation, as in his other papers, he persists with his absurd theory about 'Alī-God, which is repugnant to Ismailism, which recognizes that 'Alī and other Imāms were not *gods*, as their enemies try to make them to believe, but the Saints of God, on or in whom the Divinity, in the form of the highest emanation of the Original Divine Principle, took its abode. The poem is usually committed to memory by all Persian-speaking Ismailis, who use it for learning the sequence of the Imams.

cxixv. Ghulām-'Alī b. Muḥammad-'Alī b. Aḥmad Tu'ām of the Deccan, who used the *takhalluṣ* Ghulām or Ghulāmā, and flourished in the beginning of the twelfth/eighteenth century.

(665) *Lama'ātu't-tāhīrīn*, an extremely lengthy versified treatise, divided into 110 *lam'as* (according to the numerical value of the letters composing the name 'Alī). It is written with a great degree of *taqīyya*, contains lengthy and exaggerated praises of the first khalifs, and even a dedication to Aurangzib. It is very diffuse, bombastic, and dull in style,

chaotically dealing with many religious and Sufic matters in the extremist Shi'ite strain. At the end there is an appendix with the title *Du'ā'i 'adīla*, in which is given the pedigree of the author's spiritual guide, Sayyid Shāh Mir Muḥammad Musharraḥ, who was a descendant of the Ismaili Imams. See W. Ivanow, *A Conc. Descr. Cat. of the Persian MSS. in the Old Collections of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1924, No. 818; also, by the same, "An Ismailitic Pedigree," *JASB*, 1922, pp. 403-6.

cxixvi. Mawlā-nā Shāh Nizār, the 40th Imām, according to the present official version of the pedigree; he probably was also called 'Aṭā'u'l-lah, officially belonged to the Ni'matu'l-lahī Sufic order, and had many followers in the province of Kerman amongst the nomads, who were known as *ṭā'ifa'i 'Aṭā'u'l-lahī*. He probably flourished about the end of the Safawide period.

(666) *Qaṣīda*, a short poem of Sufic contents.

cxixvii. Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Ya'qūb Shāh b. Šūfī, with the *takhalluṣ* Ḥusayn. There were scores of poets in Persia who had the *takhalluṣ* Ḥusayn, and it is not easy to find out whether he has anything to do with any one of them. His poems contain nothing to serve as a key to the question of the period in which he lived; but the general tone, style, etc., of his works proves him to be a fairly modern author. It is not clear even whether he lived in Persia or in Central Asia, though his language seems quite good Persian.

(667) *Šifātu'l-mu'minīn*, a *mathnawī* of about 392 *bayts*, giving various moral principles and generally instructive matter. There is nothing specifically Ismailitic in it, and if not for other works of the poet it would be impossible to believe that he was an Ismaili.¹

¹ هر چند که من در نظر خلق نزارم؛ صد شکر که در عالم تحقیق نزارم.

(668) *Munājāti Husayn*, a collection of prose invocations in which the author plainly calls himself *kamtarīni bandagāni da'wati hādiya*. It is remarkable that in this work he often uses Ismaili technical terms, and that many of them are exactly those used in the *Ummu'l-kitāb*, especially the "*diwān*", which in this particular sense, as far as it is possible to ascertain, is used in that book *only*.

(669) *Tazyīnu'l-majālis*, prose sermons on the occasion of the *shabi yaldā*, i.e. the longest night in the year, which the Central Asian Tajiks as well as the Ali-Ilahis of Western Persia hold in great reverence. It coincides with Christmas Eve.

(670) *Maw'iza'i shabi yaldā*, another sermon on the same occasion.

(671) *Qaṣida fī sā'ati Nawrūzi Sultānī*, with a short prose introduction.

(672) *Maw'iza fī sā'ati'l-mubārak* (sic!), a sermon on the occasion of the Nawrūz, apparently the same work as Sem., 2177, i, which is provisionally called by him *Nawrūz-nāma*.

(673) *Qaṣida fī 'idi'l-Fiṭr*, followed by a prose *maw'iza* on the occasion, explaining the meaning of the fast of Ramaḍān, and the necessity of paying the *zakāt* as ordered by the *ḥujjats* and *dā'īs* to the treasury of the Mawlā-nā; those who do not observe this are promised all kinds of misfortunes; the *ta'wīl* of the Ramaḍān is in full agreement with the general Ismaili teaching given as abstaining from divulging the secret doctrine.

(674) *Qaṣida'i 'idu'l-Adḥā'*, also accompanied by a sermon giving the *ta'wīl* of the ceremony as symbolizing readiness to sacrifice one's own life at the order of the *rah-numāyāni jazā'iri ḥaqīqī*, i.e. of the *ḥujjats* and *dā'īs*.

(675) *Qaṣida (fī) awrādi'l-mu'minīn*, another didactic poem in Sufic strain, containing little or nothing specifically Ismailitic.

takhalluṣ Bīyābānī (?), a modern poet, lived in Persia and travelled extensively, as I was told.

(676) *Shāh-nāma'i* (or *Jang-nāma'i*) *Sayyid Sulaymān Badakhshānī*, a huge *mathnawī* poem, an imitation of the great *Shāh-nāma* of Firdausī.

~~cxix~~. Mīrzā Aḥmad Wīqār Shīrāzī, son of the well-known poet Wīṣāl, was born *ca.* 1235/1820, and died in Shīrāz in Shawwāl, 1298/Sept., 1881. *Ṭarā'iqu'l-ḥaqā'iq* gives a detailed account of him on pp. 168-9 of the third part. He was in India in 1268/1852, enjoying at Bombay the hospitality of the first Āghā Khān. Probably not an Ismaili.

(677) *'Ibrat-afzā*, a biography of the first Āghā Khān, Ḥasan-'Alī Shāh, and the story of his arrival in India. The work is written in simple prose, and the narrative is in the first person, as if by the Āghā Khān himself. The work was lithographed in Bombay in 1278/1861. It was translated into Gujrati and printed about the same date. Copies are exceedingly rare because the paper decayed owing to climatic conditions.

(678) *R. dar Insāni Kāmīl*, or *R. d. 'Irfān*, a treatise on Sufic or Ismailitic *ma'rīfat*, apparently by the same Wīqār (though there is no explicit indication in the text). It is vague and probably intentionally obscure. Lithographed together with the preceding work.

cxl. Muḥammad Taqī b. 'Alī Ridā b. Zaynī'l-'ābidīn Maḥallātī, who lived in India, and died about forty years ago in Maḥallāt. He also was probably not an Ismaili himself.

(679) *Āthāri Muḥammadī*, a history of Ismailism and the family of Āghā Khāns. The autograph copy, which was intended for presentation to H.H. the present Āghā Khān, and dated Maḥallāt, Rajab, 1310/Jan., 1893, is at present preserved in the library of the Jum'a Maṣjid, Bombay. How it found its way there is obscure. The work is about 440 pages long, and is divided into four *aṣls*; each *aṣl* is

divided into several *shākhās*, or branches.¹ The *first aṣl* deals with the history of Ismailism from the beginning to the son of Ruknu'd-dīn Khūrshāh, Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad. The story is compiled from the well-known Persian histories, and deviates from them only wherever the author commits a mistake, or gives free play to his fantasy. The *second aṣl* deals with the period from Islām Shāh, the 30th Imam, and ends with the narrative of the circumstances immediately preceding the campaign of Ḥasan-'Alī Shāh, which ultimately brought him to India, whither he started on the 4th Rajab, 1256/1-ix-1840. The author's information is extremely vague, and the stories of the Imams are mostly tissues of platitudes, containing nothing but vague eulogies—no dates, no facts. The general tendency (which was the stimulus to the compilation of the work) was to emphasize the services of the author's own ancestors. Only here and there he gives some interesting tradition which probably was preserved in his time. The *third aṣl*, the most interesting, deals with the biography of Ḥasan-'Alī Shāh, and ends with the story of his demise. This portion (as also the end of the preceding chapter) is entirely based on the '*Ibrat-afzā*' (see No. 677). It differs only in cases when the author adds the oral tradition which he heard from his relatives, the participants in the campaign, or intentionally "smoothes" some passages of the '*Ibrat-afzā*', which are too outspoken to suit the laudatory style of this work. The *fourth aṣl* begins with the story of Ḥasan-'Alī Shāh's burial in the mausoleum of Ḥasanābād, in Bombay; a long and detailed account of his family, his brothers, and their relatives (the only part of the work in which the author was really well informed) with the hidden purpose of showing

¹ Beg. شیرین ترین حکایتی که از باب لب و بصیرت را شاهد خلوت و مؤنس وحدت باشد . . . و بعد، چنین گوید نکارنده این اخبار نامه سعادت ختامه محمد تقی ابن علی رضا ابن زین العابدین که اجداد پدری از کرمان بعد از انقراض دولت زندیه الخ.

himself to be a relative of the Āghā-Khān ; then he gives some reminiscences of the accession of the second Āghā-Khān, 'Alī Shāh ; a vague and summary account of the life of the latter ; his death and burial ; a detailed account of his family (again showing an "expert hand" in these matters) ; and, ultimately, a very brief collection of reminiscences of the early years of the present Āghā-Khān, H.H. Sir Sultān Muḥammad. At the end he adds, in the 9th *shākha*, an extract from the *Ta'rīkhi Firishṭa*, concerning the visit of Shāh Ṭāhir (who himself was not an Imām) to the Deccan, in the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century.

cxli. Sayfu'd-dīn b. Muḥammad Taqī Maḥallātī, the son of the preceding author, is still alive, in Poona, an old man over seventy, who himself is not an Ismaili, but, nevertheless, receives a pension from H.H. the Āghā-Khān ; he was a school teacher till a few months ago.

(680) *Ta'rīkhi Isma'īlī*, a work covering the same ground as the preceding one, only without much that is valuable in that work, viz. the oral tradition. It seems to be entirely a compilation from the common Persian sources, and is as vague as the preceding one on the period which is exactly the most obscure and interesting, namely, from the fall of Alamut to the assassination of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lah in Yazd under Fath-'Alī Shāh Qājār. It will be interesting to examine it in detail when the work is published. As far as I heard from the author himself, he had neither the work of his father nor the *'Ibrat-afzā* at his disposal.

cxlii. Shihābu'd-dīn Shāh b. 'Alī Shāh, the elder brother of the present Āghā-Khān, died at an early age in the end of Rajab, 1302/beg. May, 1885. He was renowned for his learning and great intelligence and piety.

(681) *Risāla dar akhlāq*, a treatise on moral principles and piety. It was left unfinished. An autograph copy containing 75 pages in a *bayād*, and written in excellent calligraphic

handwriting of Shihābu'd-dīn Shāh himself, is preserved in a private collection in Poona.¹

cxliii. Fidā'i Khurāsānī, known in the Ismaili circles as "Ḥājji Ākhūnd", and whose real name was Muḥammad Dizbādī, was a very learned man; he came several times to Bombay, and died less than twenty years ago.

(682) *Hidāyat-u't-ṭalībīn*, a work on the history of Ismailism, consisting of more or less systematized extracts from the different well-known works in Persian in which the history of the sect is touched on. It seems to be a kind of "fore-study" to his next work. Copies of it are common; mine contains 118 pages of ordinary octavo.²

(683) *Ta'rīkhi Isma'īlī*, without any original title, is a large work, though by no means shedding much new light on the dark periods, or free from mistakes. Some notes on it are given by A. Semenov, in Russian, in his paper on the "Ismailite ode", *Iran*, 1928, pp. 1-24; he promises to publish it.

(a) *Works by the authors whose period of life cannot be ascertained at present*

cxliv. Darwīsh, apparently a *takhalluṣ*; there were many poets in Persia who used it.

(684) *Qaṣīda*, in praise of 'Alī, so vague that it is difficult to find out whether it is really an Ismaili poem.³

¹ Beg. چنین گوید غلام آستان حضرت شهنشاهی آقا علی شاه روحی فداه. شهاب الدین الحسینی، چون بعضی از برادران دینی که ادای حقوق ایشان را برخویش واجب میدانست خواهش رساله مختصری نمودند الخ.

² Beg. حمد و سیاس فزون از وهم و قیاس مرواجب الوجودی را سزااست که . . . اما بعد، بر کافه انام مؤمنین و موحدین پوشیده نامآد اینکه بعضی از طالبان حق در مجلسیکه از احادیث الخ.

³ Beg. چه خاموشی ای دل زبان برگشا، بحمد خداوند عز و علا.

cxlv. Ja'fari, also somewhat doubtful whether an Ismaili.
(685) *Ash'ār* and *Munājāt-nāma*, see Iv., 372, iii, and Iv., 375, xviii.

cxlvi. Qāsim Tushtari, apparently a real Ismaili.
(686) *Ash'ār*, see *Ismailitica*, I, 19.

cxlvii. Ḥasan, or Ra'is Ḥasan, before tenth/sixteenth century.

(687) *Ash'ār*, see *Ismailitica*, I, 16, 18.

cxlviii. Ḥakīm Thanā'ī, who frequently is mixed up with the ancient poet Sanā'ī, the author of the famous Sufic *mathnawī*, the *Ḥadīqa*. The real Thanā'ī was a poet of Akbar's time in India, and died in 996/1588; his real name was Ḥusayn Mashhadī. It is quite possible that he was a native of Dizbād, or of some other Ismaili centre in Khorasan, like Imām-Qulī, etc.

(688) *Ash'ār*, or *Kalām*, see *Ismailitica*, I, p. 19.

(b) *Works the authors and the dates of which are unknown*

(689) *Ta'rīkhī Quhistān*, referred to in No. 655, and therefore should have been composed *before* 959/1552.

(690) *Kanzu'l-gharā'ib*, referred to in the *Haft-bāb*, and therefore probably written before the tenth/sixteenth century.

(691) *Risāla*, a short Ismaili treatise, in questions and answers, apparently with invocations of the descendants of a local branch of the Nizari Imams, see Sem., 2179-2180, vii.

(c) *Sufic poets who are believed by the Ismailis to have been their co-religionists*

Such are the principal Sufic authors, i.e. Sanā'ī, 'Attār (as shown above), Jalālu'd-dīn Rūmī, Shamsi Tabrizī (if he was not the same as the former one), Ibn 'Arabī, and also 'Umar Khayyām (!). A Khoja friend of mine assured me that he had a *Diwān* of his *ghazals*, all in Ismaili strain!

Ḥusaynī Sādāt of Herat and Maḥmūdi Shabistārī also are supposed to be Ismailis¹; and, among the later authors, Shamsi Maghribī, or Muḥammad Shīrīn Nā'inī, who died in Tabrīz in 809/1407, and whose poetry is still very popular in Persia. His *Dīwān* was lithographed in Persia, and MSS. are quite common; in Ismaili works there are sometimes quotations from his poems. And another is 'Alī b. Ḥusayn Wā'iz al-Kāshifī, the author of the famous *Latā'ifu't-tawā'if*, who died shortly after 939/1533. In the works of the Alamuti tradition there are also frequent references to Qāsīmī Anwār, or Qāsīmū'l-anwār, whose name was Sayyid Mu'īnu'd-dīn 'Alī (d. in 835/1432 or 837/1433-4). He was a Sufi of a very doubtful orthodoxy, and probably was really connected with the so-called Ḥurūfis, cf. Browne, *Lit. Hist.*, iii, 475.

¹ Cf. No. 627.

INDEXES

IMPORTANT TO NOTE

1. References: All references in these Indexes are to *numbers of notes* in the chronological lists. In case the name of the person or the title of the work is referred to more than once, the number of the note in which it is specially dealt with is given in *heavy type*.
2. Abbreviation of entries: Names of persons, or titles of works, whenever too long, are given in an *abbreviated form*, usually only the initial part of them being given.
3. Disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement: Arabic definite article, in all its variations; case terminations; *idāfa*; common prepositions, such as: (Arabic) *fī*, *bi*-, *li*-, *min*-, 'an', 'alā; (Persian) *dar* (d.), *az*; parts of names: *Abū*; *Ibn* (b.); parts of titles of works: *Kitāb* (K.); *Qaṣida* (Q., q.); *Qisṣat* (Qis.); *Risāla* (R.), unless they form the main part of the entry.
4. Abbreviations: For abbreviations see the general list of abbreviations at the beginning of this paper.

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